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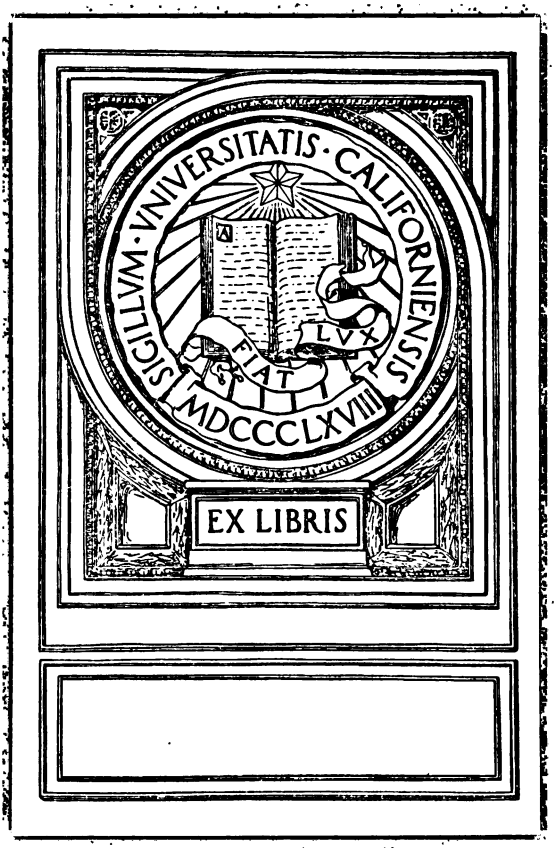


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# The Hakluyt Society.

THE

# HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA

OF

# LEO AFRICANUS.

VOL. I.

No XCII.

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# THE HISTORY

AND

# DESCRIPTION OF AFRICA

AND

*OF THE NOTABLE THINGS THEREIN CONTAINED,*

WRITTEN BY

AL-HASSAN IBN-MOHAMMED AL-WEZAZ AL-FASI,

A MOOR, BAPTISED AS GIOVANNI LEONE, BUT BETTER KNOWN AS

LEO AFRICANUS.

DONE INTO ENGLISH IN THE YEAR 1600,

BY

JOHN PORY,

And now Edited, with an Introduction and Notes,

BY

DR. ROBERT BROWN.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

LONDON:
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# PREFATORY NOTE.

As the members of the Hakluyt Society are already aware, the much-deplored death of the editor, at a period when barely a third of the text was in print, has deprived the present work of the advantage of his final revision, and also of the notes which it had been his intention to affix to the concluding chapters. As, however, the portion thus left unannotated was comparatively small, and seemed to contain few points not already touched upon in the notes to the earlier chapters, it has been deemed advisable not to introduce any additional matter, and the work, therefore, is issued in the state in which the manuscript was left at Dr. Brown's decease, with the exception of a few necessary alterations and excisions.

The task of seeing through the press the remainder of the text, together with Dr. Brown's Introduction, has been performed in a most able manner by Dr. E. Denison Ross, whose linguistic attainments, and particularly his intimate acquaintance with Arabic, have been of especial benefit to the book. Dr. Ross has also prepared the general index to the volumes.

Acknowledgments are also due to Mr. E. G. Ravenstein for the set of illustrative Maps which, together with an explanatory memorandum, he has prepared and presented to the Society for reproduction in these volumes. Founded as they are on an independent study of Leo's writings, these maps form in themselves an important contribution

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to African geography, and greatly enhance the value of the book.

In addition, Mr. Ravenstein has kindly contributed the index of place-names, which not only includes all references in the text, but also indicates the position of each place upon the appropriate map.

The great bulk of the work has necessitated its issue in three volumes. Ordinarily, these would have been allotted, two to one year, and the third to the next. After careful consideration, however, it has been judged best to issue all three for 1895, thus presenting the subscribers for that year with an extra volume.

WILLIAM FOSTER,
*Hon. Secretary.*

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# INTRODUCTION.

THE Arab who wrote the famous work to which these pages form an Introduction bears many names. That by which he was first introduced to the knowledge of lettered Europe by Gian Battista Ramusio (1485-1557), Secretary of the Venetian Council of Ten, was Giovanni Leone or Leo. This name he received from Giovanni de' Medici, Pope Leo X,[1] who was first his master, then the priest by whom he was converted to Christianity, and finally his godfather and patron. Hence Leo is also sometimes known as Joannes Medices. Having been born in Granada he is occasionally termed Eliberitances[2]—Granada being falsely supposed to be the

[1] The writer of the article "Leo, Johannes" in the *Encyc. Britannica* (vol. xxiv, p. 453) is in error when he states that the Pope bestowed on him "his own name *Johannes* and Leo."

[2] Paulus Jovius. "Leon de Grenade" is the name given to him by Genty de Bussy in *De l'établissement des Français dans la Régence d'Alger*, etc. (1835).



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Roman Illiberes. However, from the fact of Leo being an African, or from his writing on Africa, he is now invariably called Leo Africanus.

His Arab name was Al-Hassan Ibn Mohammed Al-Wezâz, Al-Fâsi,[1] that is, the man of Fez (a surname he obtained in his later years). He is also known as "El-Gharnâthi", the Granadian,[2] a designation which, apart from other facts, renders it extremely probable that he was born, not in Morocco, as "Al-Fâsi" might seem to indicate, but in Granada. On this point, indeed, there can be little doubt: for not only does he state the circumstance more than once in the body of the volume,[3] but Ramusio, who obtained his information from one of Leo's friends, reiterates the statement. Again, Leo tells us (p. 299) how he met at "Elmadin" "one of Granada my countreyman, who was exceeding rich, having serued as an archer in the region for fifteen years"; so that there is no reason for the hesitation expressed by Pory in his preface (notwithstanding the explicitness of the title-page of his translation), as to whether Leo "were borne in Granada, in Spaine (as it was likely), or in some part of Africa".

---

[1] Hartmann, *Edrisii Africa*, p. xix.

[2] Thus (in 1889) M. Delphin calls him "El Hassan ben Mohammed El Ouezaz El R'ernathe plus connu sous le nom de Léon l'Africain".—*Fas, son université*, etc., pp. 6-7.

[3] The book ends after the Arab fashion, "finisce il Libro di Giovan Leone nato in Granata e allevato in Barberia" (10th March, 1526).

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The passage which seems to have raised doubt in his mind and in the minds of other commentators, *e.g.*, Braus,[1] is the Latin of Florianus: "Cui" (Africa) "et vitæ initium et educationis meæ bonam partem debeo",[2] which Pory translates, correctly enough: "Africa unto which countrie I stand indebted both for my birth and also for the best part of my education" (p. 187). But the Italian original bears no such interpretation. "Essendo l'Affrica mia nudrice, & nella quale io cresciuto, & dove ho speso la più bella parte & la maggiore degli anni miei." This simply means that Africa was his "nurse", and that he there passed the early part of his life.

Yet, with all the suppleness of his race, he was wont in the course of his life to claim either Africa or Europe as his birth-place, according as it seemed best for his own interest. "For mine owne part", he tells us, "when I heare the Africans euill spoken of I will affirme my self to be one of Granada: and when I perceiue the nation of Granada to be discommended then will I professe my selfe to be an African" (p. 190).

Yet, in spite of these explicit statements, M. Canal, a resident in Algeria, in quoting our author's account of Oujda,[3] calls him "Leon l'Africain, voyageur Toscan"; and Mr. Rae, a most intelligent traveller,

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[1] *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemeriden*, Bd. vii (1801), p. 311.

[2] Antwerp edition (1556), p. 36.

[3] *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géog. et d'Archéologie d'Oran*, 1886.



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who cites Leo frequently in Pory's version, perpetrates the extraordinary blunder of saying that he was "born in Barbary and brought up as a Christian in Granada",[1] the exact contrary of what was the case. Even the accurate Prescott, in that he refers to him as "a learned Granadine who emigrated to Fez after the fall of the capital",[2] seems to have been under the impression that Leo's learning was obtained in Spain.[3] Much of his learning was of Italian origin, though he was undoubtedly an erudite man after the Arab standard, before he came to Rome.[4]

## His Birth and Parentage.

That he was born in 1491 is a statement which writers have hitherto copied from one another, without taking the trouble to ascertain upon what foundation the assertion rests. In reality, it is a

---

[1] *Country of the Moors*, p. 22.

[2] *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic* (Kirk's edition, 1890), p. 454.

[3] Jerome Lalande (*Mémoire sur l'intérieur de l'Afrique*, Paris, "An troisième de la Republique," p. 4) actually states that Leo went to Africa in 1491, "à la suite du Roi d'Espagne."

[4] Ramusio (1485-1557), though the contemporary of Leo and in Rome on business of the Venetian Republic many times during his residence there, does not seem to have been personally acquainted with him. In the dedication of the first volume of his *Navigatione* to Hieronimo Fracastoro, he merely tells his friend that the short account he gives of Leo was obtained from a gentleman of good credibility (*degno di fede*) who knew him at Rome and lived some time with him there.

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mere inference, that as Granada was surrendered on the 2nd of January 1492, and Leo went to Africa as a child, he must have been born in the previous year. But this also assumes that Leo's father left Spain as soon as "from the Alhambra were all the crescents flung", though, as history has it, most of the Moors remained in the city; and even Boabdil himself did not emigrate until 1493.

But, as I will presently show, there is no foundation for assuming that Leo's family left in 1492, or indeed at any particular date, before he was old enough to make the Thagia pilgrimages. The mere fact of his having been acquainted with Spanish admits of no safe inference. For his family must have spoken it freely, especially if, as I hope to prove, he was born, not in 1491 but in 1494-95; in that case they were for at least three years subjects of Ferdinand and Isabella. Leo affords us some safe guidance in this difficulty; for he intimates that when Saffi fell into the hands of the Portuguese he was twelve years old. This event happened in 1507-8, which would put his birth in the year I have indicated. Again, he tells us that when he was fourteen he knew "Sidi Jeja", who was there as captain of the country about Saffi engaged in collecting the revenues of King Emanuel the Fortunate. Now this man is well known to history. He is the personage who is usually called Sidi Yahia ben Tafut. But he did not obtain his post—that of official chief of the Arabs—until about the year 1508-9, when,

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according to the usual legend, Leo must have been seventeen or eighteen. This of course renders it impossible for us to accept 1491 as the year of his birth; and as Leo's personal acquaintance with "Sidi Jeja" did not begin till two years after the capitulation of Saffi, namely, in 1509, the difficulty of believing that he was born earlier than three or four years after the fall of the last Moorish kingdom in Spain becomes an impossibility.

Who his father was we are not told, except that he owned land, etc. But it is certain, from the distinguished position which his relatives occupied in Morocco, that he was a man of wealth and consequence, both in Fez, and previously in Granada. Leo's uncle seems also to have been a person of consequence; for he was sent as Ambassador from the King of Fez to the King of Timbuktu, and bore a wide reputation as "an excellent Oratour and a most wittie Poet". Leo seems also to have had another relative at Fez, who impoverished himself with the study of alchemy (p. 66); but beyond this we know nothing of his family, and nearly all that we know of his career is derived from the incidental remarks he chooses to vouchsafe in the course of his work.

## Return of the Moors to Africa.

In 1492, however—from three to four years, according to our calculation, before Leo was born—the last stronghold of the Moslems in Spain

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surrendered to the army of Ferdinand and Isabella; and the Moorish king, after bewailing the fate which Allah had decreed, as he stood upon that rocky eminence still known to the Andalusians as "El ultimo Sospiro del Moro"—"The Last Sigh of the Moor"—retreated to the mountain territory in the Alpujarras that had been allotted to him by the clemency of his conqueror. It may, however, be remembered that the Moors were not expelled. That step, so fatal to the prosperity of Spain, was not taken until a later period. They were permitted to either remain as subjects of His Catholic Majesty, or return to Africa, as suited them best. Even after the rebellion of the Alpujarras mountaineers in 1500-1502, those concerned in the revolt were granted a general amnesty on condition of either being baptised or leaving the country. But though all who wished to seek a home in Barbary were transported thither in public galleys at a charge of ten golden doblas a head, very few could afford to avail themselves of that privilege. This is Bledas'[1] version of the first banishment of the race, and is no doubt correct, albeit that chronicler is by no means charitable to the infidels. But Padre Bernaldez, the Curate of Los Palacios, disposes of them in a manner less creditable, though possibly his statement is an accurate account of what happened in some cases. "For", remarks this historian,[2] "the Christians shipped the

[1] *Cronica de los Moros de España* (1618), pp. 634-641.

[2] *Reyes Católicos*, cap. 165; *cf.* Prescott, *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* (Kirk's edition, 1890), p. 467.

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men, gave them a free passage, and sent them to the devil."

Religion, nevertheless, sate easy on the Spanish Moors. Thousands had been more or less voluntarily converted by the liberal-minded Talavera and the more bigoted Ximenes, and outwardly at least performed the duties of their new faith. It was not until 1610 that Philip the Third, at the instigation of the fanatical Archbishop of Valencia, deported the remnants of the race which still conformed to the creed of their fathers, retaining as slaves a certain number to expiate their offences against his sovereignty by toiling in the galleys, or dying by inches in the mines of Peru.

In the execution of this "grande resolucion", as the King termed it, about a million of the most industrious of the "Morisco" inhabitants of Spain were hunted like wild beasts, and banished to Africa, with every concomitant of barbarity. Many, indeed, were slain before they could reach the coast. The crews in many cases rose upon them, butchered the men, violated the women, and threw the children into the sea. Others, driven by the winds on the sandy shores of Barbary, were attacked by the marauding Arabs and slaughtered, despite their creed or their nationality; for a people who killed or enslaved every shipwrecked seaman, and every tribe of which was at war with the other, were not likely to bestow much esteem on castaways in Spanish garb, speaking Arabic with a Castilian accent, and whose previous history did not

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altogether clear them of the taint of renegadism. Few escaped maltreatment and robbery; and those who managed to reach the shores of Morocco, Algiers, or Tunis arrived penniless, and only to find that there was no place for them among their less effeminate kindred. Many, disheartened with the coldness of their co-religionists in the cities, wandered into the desert and perished from privations and hardships which their life in Andalus had little fitted them to endure. It is therefore by no means incredible that, in one expedition in which 140,000 "Moriscos" were carried to Africa, upwards of 100,000 suffered death within a few months of their leaving Spain.[1]

But at the period when the father of little Hassan, son of Mohammed, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, there had been little cruelty of this kind practised. The Moors had fought, won, fought again and lost; and latterly, though they remembered the evil fate which had lost them a country that only the industry of their fathers and the enlightenment of their sovereigns had made fairer and more fertile than that to which they were driven, they cherished no particular hatred towards the Christians for recovering what seven centuries before had been wrenched from their grasp. It was, as La Valette remarked to Dragut, the corsair chief, as he saw him labouring at the galley oar in a Maltese harbour, "Usanza di guerra"—the way of war.

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[1] Davida, *Vida de Felipe III*, p. 146.

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And so, with the happy fatalism of their race they kept the keys of their Granadà houses, and cherished —as some of their descendants are still said to do[1]— the title-deeds of their ancient property, praying every Friday to Allah to restore them finally to their ancient homes. If there was any special venom, any dislike more pronounced than that which the vanquished must ever feel towards the victor, it was directed less against the Christians than against their own Sultan, who, to use the words of his mother Ayesha, wept like a woman for the loss of what he could not defend like a man. His nomad subjects despised him: his life was even in danger from them. It is therefore not unlikely that this circumstance, quite as much as weariness of governing, led to his resolution to sell for a sum of money the Alpine kingdom which he held as a vassal of Ferdinand and Isabella, and next year follow into Africa his kindred, who had already proceeded thither. Al-Makkari is perhaps not unjust to the "Infidel King" when he affirms that the latter did his best to expedite his old rival's departure. The after-career of Boabdil is very obscure, and the statements regarding it extremely contradictory. Almeria was the port from which he set sail, and Melilla the one at which he landed in Morocco. It had been his original intention to fix his residence at Marakesh (the City of Morocco);

[1] I have heard this picturesque tale in Tetuan, Tunis, and other towns of Barbary. But I have never managed to see either the keys or the parchments.

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but hearing on his arrival in Africa that the provinces of that part were sadly afflicted by famine, pestilence, and other calamities, he is affirmed in one version to have taken up his residence at Fez, where he settled with his family and adherents, and built some palaces in imitation of those of Granada. Al-Makkari adds that this hapless Sultan died in Fez in the year 940 (A.D. 1538), and was buried in front of the mosque which stands outside the Bâb ush-Shari'at (the Gate of the Law).

But more recent researches tend to show that Boabdîl[1] in reality sought and received an asylum from Abu 'Abd Allah Mohammed eth-Thâbiti, Sultan of Tlemsen, and there remained until his death in A.H. 899 (A.D. 1494), according to an inscription on a tombstone, now in the museum of the famous city, where the fallen King of Granada survived, for so short a period, his unmerited misfortunes.

The conditions of the capitulation of Granada were liberal beyond anything which could have been expected of Spain or of the age. There was actually nothing to prevent any Moslem from living in the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty under Ferdinand and Isabella, for every right of property and conscience was by the treaty to be rigorously respected. No doubt, at a later period, many of its conditions were shamefully ignored. But at the date when the family of our author

[1] A corruption of Abu 'Abd Allah (Mohammed), his full name.

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passed the Straits of Gibraltar, this persecution had not begun—a fact which it is necessary to remember in connection with the entire lack of bitterness displayed by him towards the Christians, for in spite of diplomatic reserve this would have appeared in his writings; as well as the readiness he displayed at a later date to adopt their creed to advance his own interests—a practice which had never been uncommon in Granada.

The self-expatriated Moors of the better class were, however, readily received in the different Barbary Courts. In Morocco especially—then beginning to be racked by the civil war between the Beni-Marini and the Shereefs—owing to their skill in military operations, and in various crafts little practised at the time in Maghreb al-Aksa, they were welcomed much more warmly than were their brethren a century later. Fez was their favourite place of residence, and, as Leo tells us, they built and re-peopled several towns in the vicinity. To this day the descendants of these immigrants, many of them bearing markedly Spanish features, and like Sid Hajj Mohammed Torres (the present Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Tangier), having Spanish names, are still pointed out as "El-Andeless". Soforo, between Fez and Mekines, is said to have been built by them. Curiously enough, Leo never mentions Boabdil, although his father was this king's immediate adherent, and despite the probability that Leo was in Fez at the time of the ex-monarch's residence in that town. This reticence is much to

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be regretted; for we possess but scanty information regarding the latter days of these Andalusian Moors in Morocco.

The Sultan left two sons, whose descendants less than a century later were little better than beggars at the mosque doors; and to this day humble folks are pointed out in Morocco who claim to be "Beni-s-Sultáni-l-Andalus"—sons of the Sultan of Spain—though many of these are not actually the descendants of Boabdil, but of his uncle and rival, Sultan Az-zâghel, who also settled at Tlemsen.[1]

## Condition of Morocco in Leo's Day.

At the period when Leo was brought to Africa, the empire of Morocco was in a condition of political disintegration and moral decay. The Kingdom of Fez was held by Mulaï Said. But in the South the Shereefs, who afterwards obtained entire possession of the country, were beginning that movement which resulted in Morocco, Sus, and Tafilet becoming independent sovereignties, only to be united, nearly two centuries later, by the ruthless genius of Mulaï Ismaïl, who made a desert, and called it peace.

But in 1500 the Portuguese had possession of all

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[1] M. Brosselard, formerly Prefect of Oran, seems to entertain a contrary opinion.—*Mémoire épigraphique et historique sur les tombeaux des émirs Beni Zeiyan et de Boabdil, dernier roi de Grenade, découverts à Tlemcen* (1878), pp. 159 *et seq.*

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the best parts of Morocco, and were gradually extending their outposts into the interior, with the intention of seizing Marakesh. This design, as well as the capture of Fez, they would unquestionably have accomplished, had not Dom Sebastian's death and defeat on the plains of El-Ksar el-Kebîr (1578) discouraged any further aggression.[1]

To add to the misfortunes of the empire, syphilis, which has since then sapped the vitality of the people, had been introduced by the immigrant Jews. From Leo speaking of the smoking of *keef* or hashish as a Tunisian practice, it may be inferred that this vice, now practised throughout Morocco, had not then become general. Piracy, which assumed its greatest proportions and was conducted with most success when the Moors were finally expelled from Spain, had not then taken root in Morocco.[2]

But though Morocco was then barbarous compared with Spain, it was perhaps at the zenith of its fame as a land of learned men. Fez, at that time a far more opulent city than at present, was the seat of Arabic learning, to which students resorted from all parts of Islam; and its libraries, as well as those of the City of Morocco, were famous even in Cordova and Granada. A fresh stimulus

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[1] The actual locality of this famous fight—the "Battle of the Three Kings," the subject of George Peele's drama—was near the Wad Mkhamsen.

[2] The origin and history of Moroccan piracy I have fully discussed in the Introduction to the *Adventures of Thomas Pellow* (1890).

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must certainly have been imparted to this regard for learning by the arrival in Morocco of so many cultured men from Spain.

Even for some generations subsequently—actually, indeed, until the civil wars following Mulaï Ismaïl's death—Morocco still held some men of learning, such as Ibn Madin, whose wise maxims may be read in the elegant version of Dombay; Al-Petrage, who demonstrated the obliquity of the ecliptic, and discovered the fallacies of Ptolemy's hypothesis; and the Jew physician and philosopher, Avenzoher (Abu Merwân 'Abd el-Malek Ibn Zohr), one of the ornaments of the Court of Yusuf Ibn Tâshfîn, for whom his "Teicyr", or the method of regulating diet and preparing medicines (known in Europe by the Latin version of "Paravicus") was composed. This man was, according to Leo, the pupil of the still more illustrious Averrhoës; for though the latter, like most of the literati mentioned, was a native of Spain, he passed some years in Fez, where (in the middle of the twelfth century) his co-religionists lived tranquilly, and made money even more rapidly than do their persecuted descendants of these less liberal days. The fact of such men leaving the cultured courts of Seville and Cordova to take up their residence in the ruder one of Morocco, shows that the offers made to them by the African Sultans must have been of a most tempting nature. About the same period Averrhoës himself (Abu Walîd Mohammed Ibn Roshd) came from his native town, Cordova, to be the physician

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and friend of Yakûb el-Mansûr, whose orthodoxy was somewhat shocked by the philosopher's views regarding the creation of the world, the divine knowledge of particular things, and the future of the human soul; nevertheless, the last of the great Moslem philosophers ended his days in honour in Morocco. 'Ali 'Abd ul-Hasan was one of the great astronomers and travellers of Morocco at the beginning of the twelfth century; and though Ibn Sabin of Murcia and Ceuta was not worthy of being named along with Averrhoës, he was liberal enough to find a temporary retirement in the farther East necessitated by the dictates of prudence. But emphatically the greatest, and also one of the earliest, of Moroccan travellers, was Ibn Batuta, of Tangier, though in accuracy he was far behind Leo; while Mohi ed-Dîn Abu Mohammed 'Abd el-Wâhid Ibn 'Ali et-Tamîmî el-Morrâkoshî (1185), who was educated at Fez, and wrote a History of the Almohades of Spain, is worthy of being ranked with Ibn Khaldoun, the historian of the Berbers, who also lived for a time in the northern capital. Ebn Abi-Zeré, whose *Kartas Sagir* forms our almost sole authority for the history of Northern Morocco prior to the fourteenth century; Ahmed Shebâb ed-Din, another native of Fez, who wrote an abridged universal history; and Ibn Adhârî, who flourished soon after El-Morrâkoshî, and was the author of a Chronicle of Spain and Africa up to the close of the thirteenth century, were also among the literati

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of the country. Nor, of course, should Edrisi be forgotten, in recalling the famous savants of a land in which there are now none to carry on the old traditions; this most illustrious of ancient geographers was a native of Ceuta. Among the few modern scholars of any note are Abu-l-Kâsem ben Ahmed Ezziânî, and Mohammed es-Seghîr Ibn el-Hajj ben 'Abdillah el-Oufrânî. The former wrote *Ettordjeman elmo'arib 'an douel el-machriq ou'l maghrib*, or "The Interpreter who expresses himself clearly upon the Dynasties of the East and West."[1] The latter is known from his history of the Saadian Dynasty in Morocco (1511-1670).[2] Both books are of the utmost value to the historian of the empire, and go to prove that well into this century a regard for the past lingered in a land where nowadays it is rare to find any learning at all.

For fully a century after Leo's arrival in Fez, learning was held in such esteem that Mulaï Ahmed II El-Mansûr, who defeated Dom Sebastian, maintained a friendly correspondence with Philip II of Spain, by whose intervention the noblemen taken at the Battle of El-Ksar were released from slavery. In return, Spanish painters and architects were

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[1] A part of this work was translated in 1886 by M. Houdas under the title of *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*. Ezziânî, who died at Sidi-bu-Medin, near Tlemsen, also wrote a Life of Mulaï 'Alî esh-Sherîf, which it is hoped may yet be translated into some European tongue.

[2] *Nozhet-Elhâdi*, translated by M. Houdas (1889).



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despatched to Morocco; and by them many of the public buildings and decorations in the palaces were executed.

As late as 1535—not 1540, as often affirmed—Nicolas Clenard, the celebrated grammarian, spent a year and a half in Fez, for the purpose of profiting by its libraries and learning; and from that town he dates several of his letters, the Latinity of which approaches in elegance the style of a more classical age.[1] In Clenard's day, there were many men of letters there, and grammar was taught in the schools, though most of the studies related to religion and religious ceremonies; and to this day the Arabic spoken in that city is better than in other parts of the empire. But Clenard found no booksellers at the time of his visit, though he tells us that at certain seasons of the year book-sales were held on the Friday in the great mosque.

However, at the beginning of the sixteenth century with which these notes are alone concerned, there was an abundance of Arabic scholars in Fez, provided not only with the best writers in their own

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[1] Nicolai Clenardi *Peregrinationum ac de rebus maohometicis Epistolae elegantissimae.* His unlatinised name was Nicolaes Cleynaert van Diest. See also "Naauwkerige Voyage van Nicolaas Clenard na Africa, gedaan in 't jaar 1535, uit syn eygen brieven byeen verzameld" (1651); and Tiele, "Bouwstoffen voor een bibliogr. v. Ned. Reisbeschr." in *Bibliog. Adversaria*, vol. i, p. 37. A note on his works may be found in Playfair and Brown's *Bibliography of Morocco*, No. 48 (R. G. S. Supp. Papers, vol. iii, part 3, 1893).

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language, but with translations of the Greek and Roman authors made by the literati who were encouraged to add lustre to the courts of the Moorish Kings of Spain. Under these teachers Leo seems to have made the most of his opportunities, studying "Grammer, Poetrie, Rhetorick, Philosophie, Historie, and other ingenious sciences". Allusions continually occur in his works to the most recondite Arabic writers—such as Ibn er-Rakîk, Mas'ûdî, El-Bekri, etc.—and also, though less frequently, to the Latin classics;[1] though whether he made his acquaintance with the latter in Fez or during his stay in Italy must remain a moot question. It is certain that he became "a most accomplished and absolute man", or, as Master Pory puts it in his enthusiastic way, "as Moses was learned in all the wisdome of the Egyptians: so, likewise, was Leo in that of the Arabians and Mores." "He was not meanely but extraordinarily learned." His account of the culture of Fez may perhaps be accepted as a fair picture of what was true also of Granada in its palmy days, and still more of Cordova, the most lettered of all the courts of Andalus. His masters are not mentioned, but we find several allusions to his fellow-students. Thus, while visiting "a certain Hermite"—that is, a "Marabout," "Santo," or holy

[1] Thus, in describing the letters and character of the Arabians, he has an allusion to Latin historians of African manners, which may refer to Sallust or Livy; and he also criticises the *Natural History* of Pliny.



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man, of whom there has always been a plethora in Morocco—Leo found among his followers one with whom he "had old acquaintance and familiaritie: for we were certaine yeares fellow-students together at Fez, when being of one standing and seniority we had that booke of the Mahumetan religion expounded, which is commonly called the Epistle of *Nenseſi*".[1] Again, among the Berbers of "the mountaine called Seusaua", who, in spite of their brutish and savage life, cherished "abundance of learned men and of skilful lawyers, whose counsell they vse at all times", he met with "some who had heretofore been my fellow-students at Fez, and for our old acquaintance sake, gaue me most courteous entertainment: and, to the end I might escape the danger of theeues, they conducted me a good part of the way".

The affluence of his family, as well as his habits of life while a student, are shown by the fact that he lived for four summers in the ruined castle of Hubbed, on a hill six miles from Fez, "because it standeth in a most pleasant aire, being separate from concorse of people, and a solitarie plain fitte for a man to studie in: for my father had got a lease of the ground adjoining to this castle from the gouernour of the temple, for many yeeres". This Hubbed, I may here remark (as it is so directly connected with the early life of Leo), is a place once noted as the residence of a "Marabout", who was

[1] *'Akâid en-Nasafi*, a well-known theological commentary.

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the first fakîh of the great mosque of Fez. But, as noticed by our author, it was in ruins at the period of his stay, having been destroyed in the Said wars, about seventy years before the period to which he refers.

Leo seems also to have performed the customary pilgrimages, though he does not appear ever to have gone to Mecca, otherwise so notable an event would have been alluded to by a traveller not addicted to hide his light under a bushel. Albeit, he was at Jeddah and elsewhere in Arabia, and it may therefore be reasonably supposed that he crossed the Hijâz. He tells us that, as a child, he joined with his father in making the great Fez pilgrimage to the shrine at Thasia of a most holy man, who is reputed in the time of 'Abd el-Mûmen (that is to say, about the middle of the twelfth century), "to haue wroght many miracles against the furie of lions". After "being growne up to man's estate", he repaired thither, to make supplications to this saint, who is supposed to have been Sidi (or Mulaï) Buaza. He also fell in with the practice of visiting "a certaine aged sire", whom the people of Teza "adored as if he had been a god". But even at that early date Leo had begun to form opinions for himself, since a single visit served to disabuse him of any other opinion than that, like most of the "marabout" order, this "certo vecchio" was little better than an impostor, who "deluded the fonde people with strange deuises".

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## Leo's Employments.

When a young man he acted for two years, at a salary of three ducats per month, as notary (*notajo*) in the "Morestan", or Strangers' Hospital, in Fez, "secondo l'usanza de' giovani studianti". From this remark, which is curiously enough omitted in most of the translations of Leo,[1] it would appear that the students undertook the duty of making the wills, and generally playing the "man of business", to the patients in this "spedale per li forestieri infermi". He also in the course of his travels repeatedly acted in a similar capacity, or, as a Thaleb learned in the law, officiated as Kadi in various towns where no one endowed with the necessary knowledge resided. Thus, in the course of his travels with a "Seriffo or Mahumetan priest", he arrived at "Ileusugaghen, a town of Hea", and there, "because the Seriffo had brought no lawyers with him, nor any judges to decide controuersies, he would needes that I should take that office vpon me"; though, unfortunately, his decisions ended in "such a bloodie and horrible conflict" among the litigants, that the peacemakers thought it wisest to quit the town. At Samede he fared not much better. Here he served as judge for nine

[1] Florianus is here, as in so many other places, guilty of carelessness: and Pory follows suit. Temporal, however, is faithful to the Italian.

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days in a place so illiterate that, in default of anyone capable of acting as clerk, he had to serve in this capacity, in addition to being the arbiter in the manifold quarrels which it was their custom to always refer to any passing stranger; but the end of all their promises of paying him handsomely for his trouble was, that he had to be content with what is known in an American backwoods store as "produce". One gave a cock, another some nuts and onions, a third a handful of garlic. The wealthier bestowed on him a goat; but as there was not a farthing of money in the mountain, the amateur judge, who had been awake all night wondering how much gold he would receive for his pains, obtained not even a piece of silver, and was fain to recompense his host with the goat, fowls, and garden stuff with which he had been obliged to be contented.

At Médea (Medut), however, he was in better luck; for not only was he sumptuously entertained, but for his two months' services he received two hundred ducats; and had not his engagements forced him to depart, he would have been willing to remain there all the rest of his life. When he was first asked to act as judge he was not more than fourteen or fifteen. But even at that early age he wore white robes, "being such as the learned men of our country are usually clad in". It was at this date (1510) that he travelled with a "Sceriffo", that is, a Shereef or descendant of the Prophet, though it is now impossible to

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say for certain who this "My Lord Sheriffo" was; since in Morocco, as in all other Moslem countries, these kinsmen of Mohammed, real or reputed, are extremely numerous, and not always reputable.

He appears also in the course of his travels to have been a merchant, or to have travelled with merchants, to whom possibly he acted as clerk or notary, reducing their transactions to writing, keeping their accounts, and generally assisting in the legal part of their business, at the same time indulging, we may infer, in his own little speculations. Thus he describes, with much graphic power, the romantic adventure which befel him in the Atlas, when "vpon a certaine day of the month of October" he was "travelling with a great companie of merchants", and had, moreover, "a certaine summe of gold" about him. On another occasion, while on a voyage to Egypt, he tells that they bought from the Bedouins of the coast of Cyrenaica and Barca, some sheep and butter (*alquante de' lor castrati e butirro*).[1] Then, having shipped the merchandise, "we betooke vs to flight, fearing lest we should haue beene met withall by the Sicilian and Rhodian pirates"; and the translator adds, with that freedom which he takes much too frequently with the original, "beene spoiled not onely of our goods but of our liberties also". He was, after the manner

[1] This passage has been erroneously translated by Pory, who taske *castrati* to mean "Eunuchs or gelded men".—E. D. R.

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of the age and the law of the land, a soldier also, "et militavit non sine gloriâ." For, from the frequent allusions to the "Portugals", and the wars waged against them during their persistent aggressions in Morocco, he evidently took part in several of the expeditions of the Sultan Mohammed VI, who reigned in Fez (1508-1527) during the active years of Leo's residence in the country. Thus he expressly tells he was "serving the King" in the expedition of Mohammed against Azila, when the city was actually taken, and would have been held, but for the arrival of a Spanish squadron generously sent to the aid of Vasco Coutino, the governor, and Juan de Meneses, the commander of Tangier, by Ferdinand of Castile. This was in October 1508, when Leo was a boy of fourteen. Seven years later—on the 24th of June 1515—he was present at the disastrous attack which Antonio de Noroña made upon Mamora, where the Portuguese suffered heavily at the hands of the Moorish army, led by Mulaï Nâser el-Watas, the Sultan's brother.

Like his uncle, Leo was entrusted with diplomatic missions at an early age. Thus, in 1509, he saw at the distance of a mile, being "mounted upon a swift courser", the defeat and slaughter of the Moorish archers by the Portuguese under the walls of Bulahwan (Tabulawan), having been sent by the King of Fez "to declare unto the King of Morocco, and unto the Seriffo, that the King of Fez, his brother, was presently to depart unto Duccala: for

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which cause they were requested to prouide soldiers for the better resistance of the Portugal armie"—an expedition by no means fortunate for Mulaï Nâser. Then, in 1512, he accompanied the same King of Fez—viz., Mulaï Mohammed VI—on his expedition to "Elmadina, a towne of Ducala"; and, on the King's return to Fez was despatched "as ambassador" to Morocco. At that period Nâser Bu Shentrif was the nominal King of Morocco. He was a relation and vassal of the King of Fez. But the actual rulers, and most influential people in the country, were the old Shereef, Hassan Ibn Mohammed and his three sons, more especially Mohammed, who had been tutor to the sons of the King of Fez. Just then, under pretence of arousing a holy war against the Portuguese (who under Fernando d'Atayde, governor of Saffi, Pedro de Sousa, governor of Azemor, and the renegade Arab chiefs Yahia and Mamun, had approached almost to the walls of Morocco city), these chiefs were insidiously strengthening that hold on the southern part of the empire which, before many years had passed, enabled them to establish the dynasty of the El-Hoseinî Shereefs as masters of Morocco. It is not unlikely that the "Seriffo" whom Leo accompanied on various travels about the year 1510 was a member of this family, and that their purpose was to assist in the propaganda mentioned. It was in 1512, also—and in the same expedition, no doubt, already mentioned—that Leo shared in the hostilities which Mulaï Mohammed of Fez

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waged against the Arabs of the plain, who were in the habit of harassing the pious inhabitants of the Iron Mountain, north of Mogador (p. 369).

As a troubadour, the versatile Granadian, at the age of sixteen, was also not without merit; he so charmed a Berber chief of "the mountaine called Tenuenes", in the Atlas, with his music, that though this "signore" did not understand Arabic, he, "for a recompence of his verse", presented Leo with a good horse and fifty ducats. On his 1512 embassy to Morocco, he seems likewise to have displayed his literary powers. For when at "Hadecchis, a towne of Hea" (p. 233), he was entertained by a "certaine courteous and liberall-minded priest", to whom, finding him an enthusiast regarding Arabic poetry (certain erotic forms of which were much cultivated in Fez University), Leo read "a certaine breefe treatise as touching the same argument: which he accepted so kindly at my hands that he would not suffer mee to depart without great and bovntifull rewards". In short, he had got a patron, and the "dedication fee".

It was a day when the scholar could not live by his scholarship; and we may take it that, when not engaged in trading, or fighting, or diplomacy, or acting as Kadi or notary, the Thaleb was hawking verses of his "certain briefe feature", or the like, among the Courts which he visited; for rich men, even when not lettered themselves, loved to encourage men of learning. Nor does our author appear to have been at any period fanatically

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patriotic; for we find him visiting Tumeglast in company with Sidi Jeje, who, as "gouernour over all that circuit called by them Azafi", went thither "to gather up the tribute of the countrie on the behalf of the King of Portugall", against whom Leo had been fighting on other parts of the coast.[1]

As Leo was only fourteen when he met this renegade Moor, whose identity we shall presently discuss, it is probable that the journey mentioned was made in the capacity of notary or clerk to a less literate envoy sent to treat with this personage, whose proceedings in the years succeeding 1508 seriously alarmed the Kings of Fez and Morocco. Indeed, it is open to believe that many of his wanderings were undertaken as an *attaché* of this sort, either to government functionaries or to private merchants.

This theory of Leo's business is rendered the more probable from our finding him in 1506 at Tefza (Kasba Tadla, according to my identification) with the official sent thither to receive the fifty thousand ducats' fine from the Jews, who "were said" to favour the King's enemies. He notes, moreover, with a knowledge which is almost professional, the

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[1] Pory, following Florianus's imperfect translation, takes leave to characterise Sidi Jeje as Leo's "deare friend". There is no such expression in the original. "Io fui", he writes, "in questa terra alloggiato con Sidi Jeje, che era venuto a riscuoter li tributi di quel paese in nome del rè di Portugallo, dal quale era stato capitane della campagna di Azafi."

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capacity of people for paying, and the difficulty or ease with which money is to be got out of them. Thus, "no people are slower" than those of Efza "for paying of debts"; albeit, like these easy-going folk all the world over, "they are most liberall and courteous". And this he knew: for "my selfe was in this towne when the King's army lay in Tedles, and then they yeelded themselves to the King", which places this visit about the year 1512.

## Leo's Travels.

So little is known of the career of Leo, except what he incidentally tells us in the course of his narrative, that it is difficult to give a consecutive account of his roamings, and very often one is tantalised by a casual remark which shows that he travelled in distant regions, but the particulars of those journeys it is now impossible to obtain. Here and there, however, we come upon a date, or can fix the occurrence of particular events by inferences which bring us into the beaten track of history. Few as these landmarks are, we can say with confidence, that though as a child he made acquaintance with various parts of Morocco on the pilgrimages he made with his father, his first active employment was at the siege of Azila, when he was about thirteen or fourteen. This must have been his age, since he declares that he was twelve at the date when Saffi fell into the hands of the "Portugals". This was in 1507 or 1508, for the

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preliminary hostilities continued for some time, and Leo is a little vague, like most Moors, about his exact age at the time the events in question were being enacted. It is, however, just possible that he refers not to the actual capture of the place but to the building of the fortified Portuguese "casa", which "castle" (as Pory translates the word) was avowedly erected to help the designs of the Portuguese merchants on the city. In any case, if he was fourteen when he made the acquaintance of the "governator della campagna",[1] speaking with him "per nome del rè di Fessa e del Serif principe di Sus ed Ea", we must antedate his birth by at least three years. He mentions that the governor, or "capo", of Saffi when the place was taken and all but he fled, was called "Jeja". As the same person is named on p. 67 as following the occupation to which he had been appointed by Emmanuel the Fortunate of Portugal, under the name of "Jeje", "governour ouer all that circuit called by them Azafi", Leo, if he conferred with him "in the name of the King of Fez and the Prince Sheriff of Sus and Haha", must at the age of fourteen, in the same year that he was at the siege of Azila, have been either an *attaché* of some sort, or as an envoy been entrusted with the conduct of diplomatic affairs. But as Saffi was taken in 1507 or 1508, and Leo's acquaintance with "Jeje" began after that event (as we must infer from the context),

[1] "Governor of the country", *i.e.*, round the town of Saffi.

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his conference could not have taken place much later than 1509 or 1510.

A word or two may fitly here be said as to the identity and history of the so-called Jeje.

Turning to the annals of Portuguese relations with Morocco, we find that when Saffi was disputed by the factions of Abd er-Rahman (who had established a kind of monarchical republic in the city) and the chiefs 'Ali Ibn Gesimen[1] and Yahia Ibn Tafut, the former sought help from Portugal against their rivals. This was granted by King Emmanuel, but only on the condition that the Christians should be permitted to build a factory, or fondak with a gate to the sea, and a tower for their better security. This was agreed to, with the result that the Portuguese took care to convert their "casa" into a veritable fortress, well provided with small-arms and artillery smuggled in among goods. These preliminaries being speedily

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[1] "Hali sonne unto one Goeseman," as Pory translates "Ali figliuol di Guesinen", or, as Marmol names him, "Ali Ben Guecimen". In the *Africa Portuguesa* of Manuel de Faria y Sousa (1681, vol. i, p. 77), he is called "Cide Alia dux", or, a few lines later, "Haliadux", while his coadjutor is named "Cide Haya Abentafut", while "Azaafe" (Saffi) is then declared to be "con alguna corrupcion dezimos Zafin" (p. 76). He is the "Yahaya Aben Tafuf" of Marmol. Finally, to end these citations of misreadings of two well-known names, in Diego de Torres' *Relacion del origen y sucesso de los Xarifes* (1586), from whom most of his successors have borrowed freely, "Cide Haya Abentafut" and "Cide Hali" are the titles given to the two chiefs.

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settled, the Portuguese took the first opportunity they could find for picking a quarrel with the Moors. The old allies of the Christians offered a stout resistance to their treacherous friends, who had so distinctly played the part which the Saxons acted in England; but on the arrival of Garcio de Melo and Diego Azambuja from Mazagan with troops and three "caravelas", further resistance proved useless, and Ali with most of the people sought safety in flight. But Yahia demanded to be sent to Lisbon that he might explain his conduct; and in this he was so successful that he returned, as Leo correctly states, as ruler of the native tributaries in the adjoining country, with the title of General. In the succeeding years he did admirable service to his Christian master; for in rapid succession he subjugated Dukkala and part of the province of Haha, and defeated in succession the troops of the King of Fez and of the Shereefs of Haha and Sus. He had even the temerity to plant his lance on one of the gates of Morocco city, though nothing more came of that venture. In 1519, however, after a chequered career, in which jealousy, treachery, and injustice played a large part, he was, to the irreparable loss of the Portuguese, assassinated. Some contemporary chroniclers are inclined to believe this was done at the instigation of the Shereefs; though considering the dislike which his amazing success, and his favour with the King, had won for him, the chances are that Nuño de Mascareñas, who had succeeded Nuño de Altayde

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in the governorship of Saffi, was not quite innocent of that dastardly deed.[1]

As this Yahia—who must not be confounded with Sidi Yahia, governor of Baiza in 1499, or with a renegade of the same name who, in 1511, was governor of Agades—was a famous man in the history of the Portuguese wars in Africa, we are enabled to fix certain dates. Leo's account of him is quite correct, though in both the Latin and English versions it is grossly mistranslated.

Following up Leo's sporadic dates, we find that in A.H. 915 (= A.D. 1509) he was at Shella, where he diligently copied out the epitaphs on the monuments of "thirty noble and great personages" buried there; which epitaphs, with others accumulated at a later date, he seems to have put into the form of a book.

In 1510, he appears to have been moving about in the train of "My Lord Seriffo", who, as I have already indicated, may have been one of the Shereefs who about this period were engaged in preaching the Holy War, which ended not only in driving the Christians from the coast, but in seating the Hoseinî dynasty on the throne of Morocco. The particular member of the family with whom Leo

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[1] Pellissier (de Reynaud), *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Algérie*, pp. 155-57; Mercer, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, t. ii, p. 428; Marmol, *L'Afrique* (trans. D'Ablancourt), t. i, p. 448, *et seq.*, t. ii, pp. 8, 9, 10, 15, 63, 79, 80, 81, 87, 88, 92, 93, 105, 107; Faria y Sousa, *Africa Portuguesa*, t. i, p. 76, *et seq.*; Cartonnet des Fosses, *Les Portugais au Maroc* (Extrait des *Ann. de l'Extrême Orient et de l'Afrique*, 1886), p. 12.

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travelled was possibly Ahmed, the second son of Hassan Ibn Mohammed, who had been appointed a Professor in Fez University, and who was therefore in all likelihood one of our author's teachers. He was with him at Ileusugaghen in Haha, at Tefetni, "a fortress upon the ocean sea", in the same province, in the mountain "called Ideuacil" —probably Idaouicar, a part of that westward spur of the Atlas which ends at Agades—and in other localities where it is known that the Shereefs were looking to their own interest about that period. Thus he was in Sus when "My Lord the Seriffo bare rule over it"; and at Tagovost he remained thirteen days with the "Seriffo his principal chancellor, who went thither of purpose to buie certaine slaves for his Lord". But as he mentions that this was in the year of the Hegira 919 (=A.D. 1513[1]), the journey in question must have been made at a later date. In 1511 (A.H. 917) he was on his way from Draa to Fez, and next year he was at Dedes, a place which he heartily disliked. But he could not help himself; being "commanded by one to whom I was in dutie bound to travell [from Morocco] to Segelmessi, I could not chose but come this way".[2] Who was this person to whom Leo was

[1] Not 1510, as Florianus and Pory add; for Leo seldom gives the equivalent in the Christian era, and then not always correctly, while his translations are frequently inaccurate.

[2] "Ma mi vi convenne passar, mentre andai da Marocco a Segelmesse per obbedir a cui era tenuto." The "from Morocco" is omitted in most translations.

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compelled to yield obedience by going on a journey he cared so little about? In all probability it was undertaken on behalf of one of the Shereef's sons—Ahmed, if my supposition is correct; for at that time the old Shereef lived in the Draa country on the other side of the Atlas in a "Kasba" or fortified hamlet called Tegumedat or Tamugadert, not far from Segelmessa.

It was in 1512, also, that Leo made his diplomatic visit to Morocco (p. 297); and in 1513 he returned, evidently from Tunis, to see his friends in Fez (*mia patria*). The rest of that year, and the following one well into 1515, have to be accounted for; and if our calculations of the year of his birth be not wide of the mark, these were appropriated to the journey which he made with his uncle to Timbuktu and other parts of Central Africa. He was then sixteen; and allowing that he was close on seventeen, and that the journey was begun in 1513, this date would fall in fairly well with his having been born in 1495-6.

He must, however, have returned by 1515; for in that year (p. 412) he was at the attack on Mamora, and at Etiad, in the same year, he was "once entertained by a preest".[1]

As Leo tells us that he was at Mamora a little

[1] "Alloggiato in casa del sacerdote della terra." Perhaps "sacerdote" might be better translated "a reader of the law", or "a member of the Ulema"; for in Morocco, as in all other Moslem countries, priests in the Christian sense of the word are unknown.



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time before he made his journey to Constantinople, this must have been made either in 1515 or in 1516; and as he tells us that it was his "hap thrice to travell into Egypt since Selim the Great Turk conquered Egypt", he must have made these three journeys after 1517, which was the date of the capture of Cairo; moreover, as his description of Egypt under the Mameluks bears the impress of personal knowledge, we are free to infer that between 1515 and 1517 he may have visited the country while on the Constantinople voyage. In another part of his work (Book IV) we learn that he was in Bougie in 1512, the same year that he was in Morocco, on his way to Constantine and Tunis. He also tells us that he heard of the defeat of Diego de Verras before Algiers in 1516, and of the death of Barbarossa in 1518. But it is not clear at what part in his travels these tidings, which he relates not very accurately, reached him.

The chronology suggested is the more likely to be accurate since we have still a variety of travels to account for. Thus he tells us that should it please God to vouchsafe him longer life, he proposed to describe "all the regions of Asia which I haue travelled, to wit, Arabia Deserta, Arabia Felix, Arabia Petrea, the Asian part of Egypt, Armenia, and some part of Tartaria, all of which countries I saw and passed through in the time of my youth. Likewise I will set down my last voyages from Fez to Constantinople, from Constantinople to Egypt, and from thence unto Italie, in which Iourney I

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saw diuers and sundry Islands". He further lets us know that he was "carried by mariners by water from Cairo to Assouan, with whom returning back unto Chanâ [Kenneh] I travelled over the desert unto the Red Sea, ouer which sea I crossed unto Iambuth [Yambo, the port of Medina] and Ziddem [Jeddah, the port of Mecca], two hauen-townes of Arabia deserta, of which two townes, because they belong vnto Asia, I will not here discourse, least I should seem to transgresse the limits of Africa".

This explanation shows the route which he took, and the period at which the journey to Arabia was taken—namely, during one of his visits to Egypt. But we also learn that he was at Tauris (Tabrîz), in Persia (p. 137), which was perhaps the "part of Tartaria" to which he refers; and as he was also in Armenia, the presumption is that it was during a journey in the latter country that he reached the city, which was then, as it is still, the great meeting-place for the caravans. Unfortunately, if he ever wrote any account of these countries it has long ago been lost.

His acquaintance with Morocco was obtained during the wandering life he led, while his less accurate, or at least less minute, knowledge of the other Barbary States seems to have been picked up during coasting voyages to and from Egypt and Constantinople, or while engaged in caravan journeys in the interior. In these days merchant-vessels called in at many ports for fresh food and water, to avoid pirates and stormy weather, or to

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sell or buy the products of the different districts; so that in the course of voyages which were not fewer than six in number, he must have grown familiar with every town on the Barbary shore.

All his information regarding Central Africa appears to have been gathered during the long journey which he made with his uncle by the ordinary caravan route. At that period Timbuktu was in its glory; for the Songhay dynasty was not overthrown by Jaudar, the Morocco captain, for nearly seventy-six years after Leo's visit; so at that date (1513-15) its sovereigns were not in any way vassals of the Sultans of Morocco, as they became for a short period after the victory of Jaudar. On this expedition he passed through fifteen negro kingdoms, viz.—"beginning from the west, and so proceeding eastward and southward, Gualata (*Walata*), Ghinea (*Djenne, Guinea*), Melli (*M'áli*), Tombut (*Timbuktu*), Gago (*Gogo*), Guber (*Góber*), Agadez, Cano (*Kano*[1]), Casena (*Katsena*[2]), Zegzeg, Zanfara (*Zamfra*), Guangara (*Wangara*), Burno (*Bornu*), Gaoga (*Gagho*), Nube (*Nubia*)".[3] Most of these, as he accurately enough remarks, are situated near the River Niger. But it is probable, from his giving accounts of other countries than those in the direct road to Timbuktu, that he returned by another route. He appears to show a personal familiarity with Bornu and Lake Chad ("The Lake

[1] Ghânah. [2] Cassina, Kâtchna.

[3] Mauroy, *Précis de l'histoire et du commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale* (1852), pp. 111, 238.

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of the Desert of Gaoga"), in which, erroneously, he places the source of the Niger.

This portion of his work, though not the most accurate, nor that portion which is most fully compiled from his own observations, is valuable in so far that it enables us to ascertain the many changes which had happened since Edrisi described the same region from information brought to him by various travellers. Kanó had ceased to hold its old supremacy among these Niger states, and had become subject to Timbuktu. Wangara had become independent, while neither Bornu nor Katsena then held the commanding power they afterwards obtained. Timbuktu, from being an insignificant principality, had, owing to the conquests of Mohammed ben Abu Bakr El-Hajj Askia (whom he erroneously styles King of Timbuktu), become a flourishing state, to which most of the neighbouring countries paid tribute, though Leo does not mention Askia's expedition against Agadez, of which he might have heard as easily as of those against Katsena and Kanó, which preceded the former by only two years. Otherwise, he seems to have been well informed regarding the great conquests of the personage whom he names Abubacr Ischia. It is, however, possible that the account which Leo gives of Agadez represents the condition of that town when he visited it, before Askia's time, and not at the date when he wrote, his statement regarding the tribute of 150,000 ducats payable to the King of Timbuktu having been derived from

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later information. His account of Askia is also confused. "Hauing by warres in the space of fifteene yeeres conquered many large dominions, he then concluded a league with all nations and went on a pilgrimage to Mecca." But (as Barth has pointed out) Askia having ascended the throne of Gagho on the 14th of Jumâda II, A.H. 898, began his pilgrimage in Safer A.H. 892, consequently in the fifth year of his reign. Yet Leo received information of his expedition against Katsena and the adjoining provinces which was made in A.H. 919.[1]

He also repeats many of the mistakes of Edrisi regarding the situation of the Niger kingdoms; and among numerous minor inaccuracies which I shall have occasion to note in their proper place, he even speaks of the ocean encircling the desert from Cape Nun to Gaoga, and gives an inaccurate position to Wangara in order to make it fit in with this view. In short, the leading defect of Leo's descriptions—the lack of exact dates, and the uncertainty how far he is speaking as an eye-witness, and how far from second-hand information—is prominent in his book on the Niger kingdoms. His route, if we may determine anything from the order in which he takes up the different countries, was through the desert, and then along the lines followed by the Moorish caravans from Guinea (Ghinea) and Melli (Máli), eastwards down the river to Timbuktu and Gagho, and thence across the desert to Gobes on the

[1] Barth, *North and Central Africa*, vol. i, p. 463.

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northern frontier of Hausaland ; thence to Agadez, which is more easterly, Zegzeg and Zanfara, still more in the rear, till at length he arrives at Wangara (Guangara), in the remote interior. But he displays his imperfect acquaintance with Hausaland by setting Casena (Katsena) on the east, and Cano (Kanó) and Zanfara in like manner on the east of Zegzeg. Hence it is not surprising to find him placing Wangara on the east of Zanfara.

## Capture of Leo and His Life in Italy.

But it so happened that the cup went too often to the fountain ; for on returning from what appears to have been a second voyage to Constantinople (which had then been for about seventy years under the Turks), he had the ill-luck to fall into the hands of some Christian (probably Venetian) corsairs[1] off the famous island of Djerba, the Island of the Lotos Eaters, and for three centuries later a favourite haunt of the Mediterranean sea-robbers. These pirates, finding that they had a person of greater learning than usual on board, carried him to Rome as a present to Pope Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici), in the hope, no doubt, of atoning by this pious act for a long accumulation of infamy.

The exact date of this important event in Leo's life is not known. But as he made three

[1] According to Ramusio, "alcune fuste di corsari". The religion of these pirates may be inferred from their subsequent proceedings.

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voyages to Egypt subsequent to 1517, it could scarcely have happened before 1520 (certainly not in 1518, as Berbrugger fancies); and it was not later than 1523, as the Pope died in that year. We may therefore fix on 1520 as the probable year of his arrival in the imperial city. At that time Moorish slaves were common at every court, and Moorish guards then occupied in many of them the places afterwards taken by the Swiss. But Leo X, who was proud of being the patron of men of letters, when he found that his slave was a man of learning, and familiar with many strange countries, received him graciously, and not only immediately freed him, but gave him a handsome pension, that he might not have any inclination to leave him.[1]

But he naturally did more than this. For he immediately set about converting the Moor; and when one remembers the position in which the latter was placed, it is not surprising that his patron's efforts were speedily crowned with success. Thereupon he was baptized under the name of Giovanni Leone, the Pope standing as the new convert's godfather, and giving him his own name also.[2] There is little doubt that Leo's change of faith was dictated by self-interest. Even in our times, the conversion of Mohammedans, especially of Moors, is so rare that the exceptional cases are

[1] "E diedegli vna buona prouisione acciò occh' egli non si partisse", according to Ramusio.

[2] ". . . . E indusse a farsi Christiano & gli pose in due suoi nomi, Giouanni & Leone" (Ramusio).

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deservedly looked upon with profound suspicion. But at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, they were so abundant that their insincerity can scarcely be doubted. In Granada, after the expulsion of the Moorish kings, fifty thousand consented to be baptized, though their relapses afforded in future years an endless amount of toil for the Inquisition. Under Cardinal Ximenes' policy of learned argument and costly presents, so many insisted on abjuring the creed of "false Mahound", that the good Archbishop had to baptize the perverts by means of a wet mop trundled over their heads. In this way four thousand were sometimes admitted into the Church in one day. During Leo's residence in Morocco he must have frequently heard of similar occurrences; and, moreover, as there were in these days many Spanish and Portuguese missionaries in the country, and even a few converts, besides numbers of very indifferent Moslems in Mazagan, Saffi, Tangier, and other of the towns in the Christians' hands, his change of faith could scarcely have troubled him greatly.[1] It was simply a necessity of the circum-

[1] Mulaï Hâmed, the last King of Tunis of the Hafside dynasty, retired into Sicily in 1573, and there adopted Christianity; and in 1622 Ajaja, son of the Bey Yusuf, died in Palermo, where he had been voluntarily baptised under the name of Philippe, his godfather having been Philippe of Austria.—De la Rive, *Hist. générale de la Tunisie* (1883), p. 289.

A Bishop of Morocco was appointed, and actually lived in the country as early as the thirteenth century. But though there were numbers of native Christians by the year 1544, the titular-

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stances in which fortune had placed him; and an action, moreover, likely to be of material advantage to him. For in 1520 the great schism of Martin Luther had inflicted so serious a humiliation on the Papal court, that even the adhesion of a scholarly Moor was treated as a greater victory than it might have been accounted in more flourishing days of the Church.

The next few years of John Leo's life in Rome must have been extremely agreeable. To the *literati* of Pope Leo's capital, the arrival of so pleasant an addition must also have been

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holder of that office resided either in Ceuta or in Seville.—Del Puerto, *Mission historial de Marruecos*, p. 140; Gramaye, *Africa Illustrata*, p. 56; Godard, *Maroc et Revue Africaine* (1857), pp. 124, 257, 433.

As late as the middle of the seventeenth century two Shereefs embraced Christianity. The first was Mulaï El-Arbi, nephew of the Sultan Mulaï Er-Rashîd, and son of Mulaï Mohammed; who, after fleeing to Larache, crossed to Spain and was baptised under the name of Augustin de la Cerda. The second was Mulaï Mohammed Athasi (commonly described as the only son of the Sultan Mohammed IX; but he was more probably only one of the many Shereefs or princely descendants of the Prophet), who was captured on his way to Mecca by a Maltese galley under the command of Fray de Mendez. He was baptised in 1656 under the name of Balthazar de Loyola de Mendez, and died in Toulouse (not Madrid, as Santalia and Godard have it) in August, 1667.—Gonzales de Santalia, *Manductio*, etc., pp. 40, 54; Godard, *Maroc*, p. 507; and an extremely rare brochure (printed at Lille in 1669, and signed "F.R.P.S.C.L.C.") entitled: *Copie d'une lettre envoiée de France au sujet de la conversion admirable du Fils unique du roy de Marocque et de Fez*, pp. 8. Calderon has a comedy, entitled *Magnus princeps de Fez D. Balthazar de Loyola* (1660).

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an event. He had travelled further than any of them, and was familiar with lands then only vaguely known through Edrisi, Ptolemy, and other ancient geographers.

The chances are that he was more or less familiar with Italian before arriving in Rome. Spanish, we know, was among his accomplishments; and it would have been difficult for him to have travelled so much along the shores of the Mediterranean without attaining a vernacular acquaintance with what was then—as it still is in the upper portion of that sea—the language of commerce. However, his Italian was never more than passable. Even in Ramusio's version it is far from elegant, though not without a certain rude vigour, and a simple lucidity which renders it difficult to mistake his meaning. Latin was, however, one of his Roman acquisitions. He also taught Arabic—the most distinguished of his pupils being the Bishop of Viterbo, afterwards Cardinal Egidio Antonini. In Rome, also, he would appear to have written in Italian the work which is his chief claim to fame. No doubt he had previously kept a diary or notes; for it is impossible that so multifarious a mass of details could have been retained with such accuracy in his memory. But that it was prepared in Rome[1] in the form we

[1] Ramusio tells us that during his long residence in Rome Leo learnt to read and write Italian, and translated into that language the Arabic description of Africa which he carried with him when captured. "The Pope . . . understanding that he took delight in

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have it is certain, from the many references to events which occurred after his arrival, and to authors with whom it is most improbable he could have been acquainted, before Latin and the libraries of Rome opened up to him new fields of knowledge; and, lastly, by the fact that he dates it as "written at Rome in the yeere of Christ 1526, and upon the tenth of March"—or three years after Pope Leo's death; thus making it less probable that His Holiness helped him with the book.

The Pope was, indeed, too busy a man for any such unostentatious toil; and, moreover, had he done so, would have insisted on a more polished version. The book was, however, either wholly or in a rough draft, originally written in Arabic; and though this version is not now known to be in existence, the MS. was at one time in the library of Vincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601). The only version now extant is the Italian, into which he himself translated the book from the Arabic; and even this MS., though Ramusio had it in Leo's own hand-writing, has disappeared, so that the *Editio princeps* is our sole authority for Leo's statements. Had the original been accessible,[1] many moot points might have been settled.

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geography, and had with him a book that he had composed on the subject, received him graciously," etc.

[1] Mr. S. Cock, the editor of the *Narrative of Robert Adams*, etc. (1816), appears, from some remarks which he makes (p. 188), to have thought that the MS. was still in existence. Even M. Berbrugger (*Revue Africaine* (1858), p. 362) is not without hope

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## The Later Years of Leo.

In Rome Leo lived for many years, though at times he paid visits to Bologna and other cities. In 1550, when Ramusio published his *Navigazioni*, he does not appear to have been a resident in the Pontifical city, or indeed in Italy. He is merely described as having lived for a long time in Rome (*cosi abitò poi in Roma lungo tempo*); and this statement is repeated in the edition of 1554. But in the 1563, 1588,[1] and subsequent editions—the latter issued many years after his death—it is affirmed, though without any authority being given, that not only did Leo live in Rome, but never set foot out of it for the rest of his life.[2] At all events, he was at work in the year 1541. How he ended his chequered career is not, and probably never will be, known. But, from an allusion in the works of a contemporary—Widmanstadt—it is conjectured that, hurt at the little consideration he received after the Pope's death, he took up his residence in Tunis (where he died in 1552); and when last seen was once more quite as good a Moslem as he had ever been a Christian. There is much proba-

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of the original MS. being found. Ramusio mentions to Frascatoro that the MS. came into his hands "after several accidents, too long to recount"—a fear for boring his friend which posterity must regard less tenderly.

[1] "Tommaso Giunti," the printer, addresses an additional preface to the reader, from which it may be inferred that he was responsible for this edition.

[2] "Così habitò poi in Roma il rimanente della vita sua."

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bility in the conjecture; for he expressly intimates his intention of returning (though naturally he reserves the delicate question of recantation to himself); and after telling (at the close of Book VIII) the different countries which he had visited but not described, he concludes, "All which my travels I meane (by God's assistance) being returned forth of Europe into mine owne countrie, particularly to describe." And it supplies a picturesque—an almost logical—ending to this famous Moorish traveller's life, that not unlikely this was actually the case.

## The Character of Leo.

Leo's contemporaries are so silent regarding him, that almost nothing is known as to his ways of life or character, beyond what can be gathered from the pages of his *magnum opus*. However, this is in many places so frankly autobiographical, that it is possible to piece together from various passages a fair picture of the man who was for nearly three centuries the sole authority on the geography of Northern and Central Africa. Whether he was a married man or a bachelor is not known: with a Moslem's reticence on such delicate subjects as his womenkind, he avoids the slightest allusion to the harem. Yet this could not have been through any regard for the susceptibilities of the priestly society in which he found himself at Rome; for the Court of Leo X and the Pontifical College in the sixteenth century were not so deeply

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tinctured with the prudishness of St. Anthony as to have counselled any reserve on marital matters. Indeed, had Leo been married, we should in all likelihood have learned the fact directly or incidentally, for he seemed to have been something of a gallant.

Nor was Leo without humour of a pawky type. He jokes, somewhat parlously, one might imagine, over the craze of one Pope for destroying the buildings erected by his predecessor, and hints that the "daintie cates" in the vegetarian monastery at Asouiat might be taken as a proof that the inmates, like the monks o' Melrose, "had gude kail on Fridays when they fasted"—and perhaps during the rest of the week also. His remarks about the social evils in Egypt are those of a shrewd observer whose eyes were not blind to anything which concerned mankind. He is often frank to a fault; as, for instance, when he congratulates himself on seeing the rout at Bulahuan in 1513 mounted "on a fleet courser"—a confession of cowardice quite consistent with the practical character of the clerkly soldier, who considered it idle to throw away his life for an idea. Moreover, all through his book we find the same Mohammedan spirit of not "crying over spilt milk"—a recognition of the uselessness of fighting against "Kismet"—of the impiety of wailing against what "has been written" in the book of fate.

He does not appear at any time to have been a bigot. Thus, as already noted, even when a



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boy he was not deceived by the assumed piety of the "ancient sire" at Tessa; and his chief pleasure in the mosque was to see the people troubled with colds sneezing, and then all the other worshippers sneezing in concert, until it was impossible to hear the words of the preacher. Nor did he believe in the art of magic. His ideas of good government were ahead of his times; for he laments the tyranny which prevailed, and the civil broils which were the natural result of it; and he prophesies, with an accuracy only too well justified by subsequent events, that the universal avarice and corruption of men in authority would bring about contempt of learning and education, and thereby widespread ignorance, immorality and superstition, with the national ruin which would be sure to follow in their train. The mere fact that he renounced Islam for Christianity is to be taken more as a proof of his suppleness than of his open-mindedness; for at that period religion was considered by the Moors as a toploud on the conscience, which might be tossed overboard as the worldly interest of the owner dictated. It may be taken that if Leo was of any creed, he was always at heart a Moslem; and if the person seen in after years in Tunis was actually he, then the convert of Giovanni de' Medici had, as almost always happens in such cases, reverted to his ancient faith in preparation for the visit of Azrael. But as long as he was nominally a Christian and a resident in Rome, the quondam Al-Hasan Ibn Mohammed cursed the Prophet with

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the best of them. "The Mohammedan plot," "the pernicious foundation of Mohammedan law," and so forth, were the fine phrases by which this newly-made Christian referred to the belief which he had abandoned.

Above all, the Moor was blessed with that happy adaptability which is the birthright of his race. Perfectly at home anywhere, and always "lovingly" entertained, ready to be African or Granadian, Moslem or Nazarene, as best suited the circumstances of the case, keen to note everything, and capable of telling what he had seen in a pleasant fashion, to trader or lawyer, soldier or judge, diplomatist or priest, each in his turn, with equal readiness, Leo Africanus must have been a pleasant companion to travel with, and of all men the best fitted to traverse the interior of Africa.

## Leo's Miscellaneous Writings.

Among the known treatises which were written before his *Description of Africa* are the Lives of the Arab Physicians and Philosophers,[1] and a vocabulary of the Arabic and Spanish languages.[2]

[1] "*De Viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes Libellus Johannis Leones Africani*," in J. A. Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Græca*, vol. xiii (Hamburg, 1726), pp. 259-298. Of the twenty-nine chapters, the last three are concerned with the Hebrew physicians and philosophers. Leo refers to it in the present work, p. 155, Bk. III.

[2] This vocabulary Jacob Mantino, the celebrated Hebrew physician, mentions having consulted in manuscript (Ramusio).



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According to his own statements, he seems also to have written—or intended to write—an Epitome of the Mohammedan Chronicles, a History of the Mohammedan Religion, and a collection of Arabic epitaphs from the burial-grounds around Fez, the MS. of which he gave to the king's brother; while we have already noted the fact that he had a project, which he does not seem ever to have carried out, of narrating his travels in Asia and Europe. "The divers excellent poems" which he wrote have likewise vanished.

## His "Descrizione dell' Affrica": early Editions.

As we have already seen, Leo probably wrote his *Description of Africa* in the first place in Arabic; but after having learnt Italian, he seems to have re-written the entire work in his adopted tongue; for this version, which is the one from which all the translations have been derived, contains allusions to events which occurred long after his capture, and bits of information, as well as allusions to authors with which he could not well have been acquainted prior to his residence in the Pontifical capital. This manuscript of the Italian version is dated from Rome, March 10th, 1526; but it was only in 1550 that Ramusio—the Hakluyt of Italy—was fortunate enough to obtain it for his collection of Voyages and Travels, in which, after Ramusio had edited it "with the utmost diligence he was master

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of", it duly made its appearance.[1] Of the fate of the MS. nothing is known, but there is every probability that it perished in the fire which, seven years later, destroyed so much of the material collected for Ramusio's second volume.

The period in which Leo's epoch-making contribution appeared was a stirring one in the history of exploration. In the year when it was being written the world had been turned upside down by wild tales of the new continent which Columbus and his companions had discovered. In 1497, the year in all likelihood which saw the family of Leo repatriated in Africa, Vasco da Gama had started on his successful voyage to India, by way of the Cape of Good Hope; in the following year the mainland of America had been reached; and in 1500 Pinzon had lighted upon Brazil and its mighty rivers. Thirteen years later, Balboa, "silent upon a peak in Darien", had sighted the Pacific; six years nearer Leo's time Cortes had conquered Mexico; and at the time our author was so quietly telling of regions then as little known as any in the New World, Pizarro and Almagro were partitioning Peru, and Soliman the Grand Turk was threatening Europe with the Moslem yoke. Yet not a hint

[1] In spite of Ramusio's editorial care, it is full of grammatical mistakes. The history of the manuscript is not given. It merely fell into his hands owing to a series of accidents, which it would take too long to recount—"Il qual libro, scritto da lui medesimo, dopo molti accidenti che sarrano lunghi a raccontare, pervenne nelle nostre mani."

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do we get of all these stirring events. Indeed, interesting and important as Leo's pages undeniably are, the reader is apt, when he remembers the feverish tidings which must have all the time been reaching Leo's ears, to hold at cheap appraisement his descriptions of petty princes and their states.

But in the middle of the sixteenth century the world was eager for news of any country "not Christian". Africa was then in an eminent degree a dark continent; for scarcely any portion of it was known, and the imaginative cosmographers—who even at a later date in constructing their maps were compelled to dot their open spaces with "elephants for want of towns"—were adrift from the lack even of coast-lines. Men had, it is true, some vague knowledge of the coasts of Northern and Western Africa; and there were rumours, derived from Edrisi and Ibn Batuta, of Arab kingdoms on the east coast, and of others on the upper waters of a great river then beginning to be known as the Niger—which, however, was frequently confounded with the Gambia, the Senegal, and even with the Nile. About two hundred and fifty years before (1291), Ugolino, Guido Vivaldi, and Tedisio Doria had attempted the circumnavigation of Africa; but scarcely anything was achieved until the early part of the fifteenth century, when began the series of voyages associated with the name of Prince Henry the Navigator. In 1434-46, Portuguese seamen had skirted the edge of the Sahara, bringing rumours

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of Timbuktu, Jenne, Congo, and the lands beyond; and various ships had crept down the west coast. In 1487 Bartolomeo Diaz had discovered the Cape of Good Hope, an event which, if known to Leo, is not noticed by him.[1] In 1500 Diego Diaz had sighted Madagascar; and in 1550 Pannilini had penetrated Algeria for some distance. But the interior of the continent south of the old settled regions of the north, except for a short distance from the coast, was a *terra incognita*. How little was known of the interior may be gathered from the summary which Pory made fifty years later, as an introduction to his translation of Leo.

Ramusio's collection, to which we have already referred, went through several editions in three volumes, the first of which was devoted to Leo's involuntary contribution; these editions bear the dates 1550, 1554, 1563, 1588, 1606, and 1613. In 1556, soon after its reappearance in Venice, the work was translated into French, apparently from the 1554 edition, though the voyages were not arranged in the same order as in the Italian original.[2] This most sumptuously printed version

[1] In reality, Leo's work, though called a *Description of Africa*, is merely a description of those parts lying north of the Equator which were personally known to the Author and his informants.

[2] *Historiale Description de L'Afrique, tierce partie dv monde, contenant ses Royaumes, Régions, Viles, Cités, Châteaux et forteresses: Iles, Fleuves, Animaux, tant aquatiques, que terrestres: coutumes, loix, religion et façon de faire des habitãs, avec pourtraits de leurs habis: ensemble autres choses mémorables, et singulières nouueautés: Escrite de nôtre tems par Iean Leon, African,*

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was published by Jean Temporal, who seems himself to have been the translator, and also the author of two laudatory poems to Ramusio, which form part of the various prefaces and dedications attached to the volumes. It has a curious double-page woodcut map of Africa—a copy of the one in the 1554 edition of Ramusio—and a series of large, fair woodcuts, purporting to be portraits of African people, though it is clear the artist had nothing better than his imagination to go upon.

This excellent version of Jean Temporal, which was dedicated to the Dauphin, afterwards Francis II, the first husband of Mary Stuart, was no sooner out than it was pirated by Christopher Plantin, who six years before had established in a small way of business that famous printing house which for two centuries and a half was the pride of Antwerp.[1]

This volume, admirably printed and bound in vellum, but without maps or illustrations, is confined to Leo's work, which from the first was regarded as the most important in Ramusio's collections; for

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*premièrement en langue Arabesque, puis en Toscane, & á present mise en François. Plus cinq Nauigations au païs des Noirs, auec les discours sur icelles, comme verres en la page suiuante. Tome Premier.* A Lyon, par Iean Temporal [folio] 1556. Avec Privilege dv Roy.—See Playfair and Brown, *Bibliography of Morocco*, No. 49.

[1] *Historiale description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde, contenant des royaumes, regions, villes, cités, chateaux et fortresses: Iles, fleuves, Animaux iant aquatiques, que terrestres: coutumes, loix, religion, et façon de faire des habita(n)s, etc.* Anvers, 1556, 12mo, pp. xxvii + 413 (on alternate pages = 826) + index 47 pages (not paged).

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Plantin could not afford to indulge in the luxury of publishing books which did not "pay". Plantin's piracy was repeated in the same year and city by Jean Bellere, in a reprint of less beauty but now of even greater rarity.[1]

## The Latin Edition of Florianus and its Blunders.

In the same year and in the same city that Plantin and Bellere were reprinting Temporal's French version, there appeared a Latin translation by Joannes Florian, Rector of the Grammar School of Antwerp.[2] Owing to the wide-spread popularity at that period of the chief classical tongue, this

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[1] "*Historiale description de l'Afrique, tierce partie du monde, contenant ses royaumes, régions, viles, cités, châteaus et forteresses: Iles, fleuves, animaus, tant aquatiques, que terrestres: coutumes, loix, religion et façon de faire des habitãs, avec pourtraits de leurs habis: ensemble autres choses mémorables, et singulières nouveautés. Ecrite de notre temps par Iean Leon, african, premièrement en langue Arabesque, puis en Toscane, et a présent mise en françois.*" En Anvers ches Iean Bellere, 1556, avec privilège (in 12mo, with coloured engravings).

[2] "*Joannis Leonis Africani, de Totius Africæ descriptione, Libri i-ix. Quibus non solum, Africæ regionum, insularum, & oppidorum situs, locorumque interualla accuratè complexus est, sed Regum familias, bellorum causas & euentus, resque in ea memorabiles, tam à seipso diligenti obseruatione indagatas q̈ in veris Maurorum Annalib. Memoriæ traditas, copiose descripsit, recens in Latinam linguam conuersi Ioan. Floriano Interprete.* Antwerpiæ, Apud Ioan. Latium MD.LVI. Cum Priuilegio" [8vo]. The title-page, Privilege from Philip II as Duke of Brabant, dedication to Melchior Corvinus, Treasurer of Antwerp, and Index, occupy 32 pages. The text extends to p. 302;

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Latin version obtained a currency which its merits never deserved, while the infinitely superior version of Temporal fell into disuse. A second edition appeared in 1558, and it was reprinted at Zürich in 1559,[1] and at Leyden in 1632[2]; and up to this hour it is cited by geographers, and such historians as usually go to original sources for information, with a confidence which has caused and perpetuated many errors; most of them being apparently unacquainted with the Italian or any other version.

It is, indeed, scarcely possible to characterise in terms too severe the way in which Florianus executed this version, or the mischief which he has done to the cause of truth. The Latinity is

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but as only one side of each leaf is numbered, the pages actually amount to 604.

[1] As Florianus died in 1585 (Foppert, *Bibliothec. Belg.*, p. 639), this edition was published in his lifetime. It differs from the original in having the pages (1-517) consecutively numbered, and in the chapters and paragraphs of each book also being numbered. But the type, in italics, is small, and not very clear. It is not often met with.

[2] *Ioannis Leonis Africani, Africæ descriptio, ix lib. absoluta* (Lug. Batav., Apud Elzevir, Ao. 1632, with engraving of an emblematic character). 1 vol. (in two parts, with continuous pagination), 12mo, pp. 800, with 16 pp. index at the end. This is the Latin edition most frequently quoted. It was re-issued in 1639 by the same publisher in two volumes, evidently from the same type. A 16mo work, issued at Leyden in 1634—"*Tvrcici Imperii Statvs*"—is sometimes classed as another edition. It is in reality composed of extracts from various writers on Turkish affairs, with an account of Tunisia and Algeria from Gramaye and Leo, though without acknowledgment (*Bibl. of Morocco*, No. 184).

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tolerable, and in some instances elegant, though far from what we have a right to expect from one occupying an academical position in a day when this tongue was almost the vernacular of learned men. But the accurate reproduction of the author's meaning is in numerous places scarcely aimed at. Whole passages, some indeed of cardinal importance, are omitted; and blunders quite inexcusable are made with such frequency and under circumstances so inexplicable that it is impossible to believe that he was familiar with Italian, or that he bestowed the most ordinary care upon his task. I have already incidentally noted a few of these errors; but as the Latin of Florianus has been for more than three centuries the standard version—the Italian, French and English being comparatively seldom quoted—under the mistaken belief that it was trustworthy, it may be advisable to prelude my comments on Leo's text by instancing some of the more flagrant lapses of this Flemish translator, whose ignorance and negligence seem to lay equal claim on our amazement.[1]

Thus, to instance some of his mistranslations, *coccucie* (melons) are Latinised as *cocci*, which Pory Englishes as "Cocos". "Mele" (honey) is represented by *pira*, a bonfire; and "melaranci"

[1] The Antwerp (1556) edition is quoted throughout, for the Leyden (1632) reprint is a discreditable dumpy duodecimo, in which the Elzevirs have slavishly copied all the blunders of Florianus, without however giving his dedication, or indeed making the slightest reference to him.

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(oranges) by *mala citrea;* "Tedeschi" (Germans), is translated *Tuscos;* "brigantini" (ships) is turned into *milites*, soldiers; "avolo" (grandfather) into *avunculum* (uncle); "carne di agnelli" (lamb), instead of being translated *carnem agninam*, is transformed into *vitalenare;* "Gozzi" (swellings) becomes *gargullones nodani;* while "il verno" (winter), of which the natural translation would have been *hyems*, becomes in the Latin *verna tempora.* These and other faults, of a similar though less heinous character, are due to the translator employing a Latin word which is not the equivalent of the Italian one. But he frequently goes further, by actually adding or omitting whole clauses or expressions—a process by which the meaning of Leo is materially altered. Thus (p. 198), in describing Oran he characterises it as "maximum hoc atque frequentissimum oppidum"—this huge and much-frequented city—which is a turgid exaggeration of Leo's "una città grande"—a large town; while "ante aliquot sæcula ab Afris ad Mare Mediterraneum exstructum" (a statement of doubtful accuracy) is an exceedingly free expansion of "edificata da 'gli antiche Affricani sul mare Mediterraneo". The words, "a d'intorno alte e belle mura"—surrounded by good and lofty walls—get expanded into the sonorous "muris vndique altissimis atque munitissimis cingitur". Leo describes a large number of the citizens as being artisans and weavers—"artigiani e tessitore di tele"; but the "artigiani" is omitted by Florianus. Again, speak-

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ing of the number of Catalans who frequented Oran for the purposes of trade, he mistranslates the Italian "loggia" into "vicus"—a street. A line or two lower down, "l'entrate del porto"—the Custom House dues—appear as "tributum Regium"; while "fuste[1] e brigantini armati", which Pory (who, unfortunately, for reasons not difficult to explain, follows Florianus in most of his blunders) very properly translates "foists and brigandines of war", appears in the Latin version (as already noted) "propriis sumptibus milites"; though one might think the seafaring men of Antwerp could have explained to the Rector of its High School what a "foist" and a "brigantine" were. After telling how Ferdinand, King of Spain, captured Oran, Leo—who, when he does not write from personal knowledge, is usually careful to say so, and in this case derives his information from "most credible and substantiall persons, which were themselves eie-witnesses of the scene"—apologises for this pusill-animity on the part of his countrymen by the fact that the town was torn by civil broils ("per causa di molti disordini"); but Florianus omits these important words. A still more serious blunder is his mistranslation of "d' indi a molte mesi con l' ajuto d' alcuni vescovi e del cardinale de Spagna una maggiore ne rifece: e con questa in una giornata fu presa la città"[2] into "verum post aliquot deinde

[1] *Fusta*, a galley.

[2] "After many months, with the help of some Bishops and a

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menses Vasconum atque Cardinalis Hispaniæ copiis adjutus, Oraniam occupauit". Here the ludicrous blunder is made of mistaking *Biscayans* for Bishops, who, as Leo very correctly remarks, helped the king very much—the "Cardinal of Spain"—*viz.*, Francesco Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, having proclaimed the siege of Oran as a Holy War, and sent messages round the Sees under his control, with the object of raising funds for its prosecution. This ignorance of history is certainly remarkable in a scholar who was contemporary with the events he describes; though a further specimen of it is given in the dedication to his version of Leo, where he describes the author as "natione Granetensis, patria per Ferdinandum & Elizabeth Hispaniarum Reges expugnata in Barberiam profugiens"—three lines which contain a direct misstatement and an inaccuracy.[1] Finally, these blunders, which are all contained in one short paragraph about Oran, are capped by the conclusion. After correctly translating the passage in which Leo dates the capture of Oran by the Spaniards as "anni nouecento sedici dell' hegira" (A.H. 916), he adds, "qui Christi fuit MDVII." This reduction to the Christian era is wrong by

Cardinal of Spain, he raised a greater army, with which he captured the city in a single day."

[1] It is doubtless to this inference of Florianus that we trace the widely accepted notion that Leo's family fled to Africa after the fall of Granada—a conclusion which we have shown is by no means justified by any of the facts within our knowledge.

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two years; for the day on which Oran fell was 16th May 1509.[1]

Again, we find—not to enumerate less material errors—"giudice" (judge) mistranslated "judæum" (Jew), evidently under the belief that the word is "giudeö", and "una scorta" (a convoy or escort), by *scortum* (a hide), etc. Another mistranslation has often puzzled those familiar with Morocco, and misled a still greater number of readers who, like Florianus, were unacquainted with that country. It is in describing Leo, when he met with his romantic adventure among the Atlas snows, as travelling with "currus" (p. 26). This word, which occurs thrice in rapid succession, is translated "carts" by Pory. But as there are no roads except bridle-paths in Morocco, wheeled carriages[2]

[1] Fey, *Histoire d'Oran avant, pendant, et après la domination Espagnole* (Oran, 1858), p. 69, whose authority is Alvarez Gomez. There is something not unpleasant, according to the Rochefoucaldian maxim, in finding that Lorsbach, a German grammarian who is cruelly hypercritical upon Florianus, is in this passage quite as blundering as the translator whom he corrects; for Oran was not captured in A.H. 619—which may be a misprint for 916—nor is the latter year equivalent to MDX. Temporal is even worse: for he translates "novecento sedici" as "neuf cens".

[2] The Sultan has an ancient state carriage in which, at a very slow pace, he is dragged to the palace mosque on Fridays, the horses being led, not driven. But he always rides back. In 1890, the late Mulai Hasan acquired a hansom cab; but it is never outside the palace. Some carts were taken to Marakesh (Morocco City) a few years ago; but soon got broken. In Mulaï Ismaïl's time there were a few rude waggons at Mequinez dragged by Christian slaves, but they were not used for carrying merchandise.

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are unknown outside of the coast towns, all goods being carried on the backs of camels, horses, mules and donkeys, and consequently this statement that "carts" were employed for freight nearly four centuries ago, especially in the rugged Atlas, seems inexplicable; until we find that in the original Italian the word is "carovana"—or caravan, a pack-team of animals, which might have been correctly Latinised as "comitatus", though unfortunately the puzzle has seldom been solved by ascertaining what the Moor himself said.

These instances of faulty translation, of unwarrantable omission or amplification, might be indefinitely multiplied did space permit. In short, Florianus, with all his merits—and the vast service he did to geography by rendering Leo accessible to many people too learned to understand either Italian or French must not be forgotten — was afflicted with the worst fault in an editor, that *lues emendatoris* which afflicted so many of the transcribers of the period. He could not let well alone. He tried to improve the text by giving his personal gloss to the writer's meaning, a proceeding which would have been perfectly justifiable and even commendable had he not too frequently incorporated his reading into the text without distinguishing what was his and what was Leo's. Thus—as final citation — there is the passage which seems to have troubled the conscientious editor of the fictitious narrative of Adams (Mr. S. Cock, of the Company of Merchants trading to

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Africa).[1] Here the words of Leo, in which he describes the houses in Timbuktu as huts, built with stakes covered with chalk (or clay) and thatched with straw (an almost exact description according to the latest account), appear to Florianus to fall below what he considers the then half-fabulous city of Central Africa ought to be; for he adds "sunt mutatæ". Again, Leo's rather confused description of Timbuktu as being "vicina a un ramo del Niger circa a dodici miglia", is improved by Florianus and Pory into "in duodecimo millaria a *quodam fluviolo* situm fuit quod è Nigro flumine effluebat".[2]

## Pory's Edition.

In these preliminary criticisms upon the translation of Florianus, I have somewhat anticipated what might have fittingly appeared as emendatory notes to the chapters in question. But as this version has been accepted for more than three hundred years as a sort of geographical classic, it is right that its latter-day students should be warned against the many pitfalls with which its pages are studded. Unfortunately, also, the translation which is here reprinted has in many places been

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[1] *The Narrative of Robert Adams, a Sailor who was wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa in the Year 1810, was detained Three Years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and resided several months in the City of Tombuctoo* (1816), p. 183.

[2] "Within twelue miles of a certaine branch of Niger."—Pory.



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affected by the errors or the carelessness of Florianus. For, though Master John Pory does not say in so many words that his version is from the Italian, without the interposition of the latter, he is evidently desirous, from his references to Ramusio, and his sedulous avoidance of Florianus' name, that this impression should be conveyed. In reality, as shown by the fact of his accepting the worst of the Latin blunders, though his good sense enables him to steer clear of some of the Antwerp Rector's absurdities, his version seems in the main to have followed that of Florianus, though at times the translator may have consulted the Italian, a language with which he was probably less familiar than with Latin.

Pory was a friend of Hakluyt,[1] who, according to the dedication, and a note prefixed to the volume, intimates that not only did he regard the way in which the translation has been executed with approval, but that he himself "was

[1] Of Pory little is known. In the Register of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, he is entered as "John Porye", who became an undergraduate in 1587. There is no further information regarding him, but in Dr. Venn's printed list the following quotation is translated from an "early note" in Latin. "This man translated and collected a geographical history of Africa, written in Arabic and Italian by John Leo, a Moor born in Granada. He presented a copy of it to our library, with a printed paper in the beginning testifying to his regard to the College." The date of this "early note" is not stated. He does not seem to have graduated. In the *Court and Times of Charles I* (vol. ii, p. 90), there is printed a letter from Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering.

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the first and only man that perswaded him to take it in hand." The version has, therefore, peculiar claims upon the Hakluyt Society. Apart, however, from any merits of its own—and any vital defects will be pointed out—the book is an excellent specimen of Elizabethan English, lucid, quaint, and plain-spoken to the verge of what, in these more conventional times, might be regarded as a little unrefined.

Again, as Pory was almost a contemporary of Leo, his version is preferable to one written in language less in accordance with the Italian of the original. He was, moreover, a scholar, and in his way a geographer, for his translation[1] is sandwiched between an account of the part of Africa not described by Leo, compiled from various authors, and of value as a fair view of the knowledge of that continent possessed by the Englishman of the closing years of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

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[1] *A Geographical | Historie of Africa, . . . . | Written in Arabicke and Italian | by Iohn Leo a More, | Londini, | 1600.* Title; Dedication, 1 page unnumbered; To the Reader, 5 pages unnumbered; A generall description of all Africa, togither with a comparison of the ancient and new names of all the principall countries and prouinces therein, 1-57; An approbation of the historie ensuing, by me Richard Haklvyt [with extracts in praise of Leo by Ramusio, Ortelius, Bodin, and Posseuinus], 57-60; Leo's text, 1-358; A briefe relation concerning the dominions, reuenues, forces, and manner of gouernment of sundry the greatest princes either inhabiting within the bounds of Africa, or at least possessing some parts thereof, translated for the most part out of Italian, 359-420. The only edition is in 4to, with a map of Africa.



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The book is dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Burleigh's son, Secretary of State, and afterwards Earl of Salisbury; and as it refers to the recent visit of "the Marocon ambassadour",[1] and the interest on that account aroused regarding Africa, we may take it that Master Pory, with fine business instinct, produced his famous treatise at an opportune moment.

Considering the circumstances mentioned, his translation can scarcely be regarded as equal to Temporal's, so far as literal accuracy is concerned. It is, nevertheless, better than that of Florianus; and when the occasional inaccuracies which he too readily adopted from this latter are corrected, it may be regarded as quite worthy of the esteem in which it was held by his contemporaries, and still is up to this day by those geographers who continue to quote it. Like Florianus, he is at times apt to let his feelings get the better of him, and to intercalate an offensive remark touching that "great deceiver Mohamet", or to strengthen an abusive epithet.

Having been issued in the same year that the last volume of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries* was completed, it does not appear in that collection. But in the second volume of *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*—a work made up mainly of materials

[1] Sent by Mulaï Ahmed II (Abu-l-'Abbâs El-Mansûr), commonly known as Khân esh-Sheriff (1578-1605). Elizabeth sent, in 1577, Edmund Hogan, "one of the Sworne Esquires of her Ma't's Person", as Ambassador to Mulaï 'Abd el-Melik (1576-78), the immediate predecessor of Mulaï Ahmed.

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left unprinted by Hakluyt—the greater part of Pory's volume is included.[1] It is also abridged in Harris's collection.[2] The next edition of Leo which appeared seems to have been the Dutch one issued at Rotterdam in 1665,[3] though, as in so many of its predecessors, the translator—who seems to have

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[1] *Observations of Africa, and a description of the Kingdomes of Bugia and Tienes, the Land of the Negroes, and of the Confines of Egypt: with an account of the People, Tribes, Languages, Seasons, Vertues, Vices, and other more general considerations of Africa*, vol. ii, pp. 749. (1617-25.)

[2] "A particular account of the Kingdom of Morocco, taken out of John Leo. Additions collected from Marmol, John Leo's Description of the King of Fez", etc. Harris, *Navigantium atque Itinerarium Bibliotheca*, etc., vol. i, pp. 316-338 (1705).

[3] *Pertinente beschryvinge van | Africa met alle de Landen, Koningrijken, Steden, Volken, | Gewoonten Gedierten Vogelen, Boomen, | Aaard-vruchten die daar zijn. | Mitsgaders | der Koningen die daar geregeert, ende de oorlogen die sy gevoert | hebben, van den jare* 1600 *| af. Getrokken en vergadert uyt de Reys-boeken van | Johannes Leo Africanus. | Met Kopere Plater verciert. | Hier neffens is by-gevoegt een pertinente beschryvinge van de Kuste van Guinea, | soo als die hedens daags bevaren word, en de Handelinge die daar op de | Gout-Kust word gedreven, beginnende he xvii. Cap.* | Tot Amsterdam. | By Arnout Leers. Boek-verkooper | MDCLXV, 4to. The book is dedicated in a very laudatory preface (signed by the publisher) to the Admiralty Committee of Rotterdam. The map is a copy of that published by Jodocius Hondius, and the copper-plates are for the most part reproductions of those in the French version of Leo. The book is divided into twenty-two chapters, the first nine (pp. 1-225) of which correspond to the nine books of Leo. The others are occupied with compiled matter, in many cases containing curious facts of much value relating to the Moorish sovereigns, the trade of the Moors with Guinea and Gago, the different settlements along the African coast, and particularly with the Dutch commerce in the West African settlements.

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been the publisher, Arnout Leers—made his version from the Latin of Florianus, instead of from the original Italian.

With the exception of Purchas's annexation, Pory's translation has not hitherto been reprinted, and perfect copies now fetch a price sufficiently high to show the esteem in which it is held by collectors. But, in 1738, Francis Moore,[1] an unusually learned Factor of the Royal African Company, retranslated, as an appendix to his work on the Gambia, nearly the whole of Leo's account of the Negro kingdoms, which he, in common with most of the geographers of that date, believed to be identical with the Niger.[2] This version professes to be from the original Italian; though as it is merely a summary,

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[1] "*Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa: containing a Description of the several nations for the space of six hundred miles at the River Gambia: their trade, habits, customs, Languages, Manners, religion and government: the Power, Disposition and Character of some Negro Princes: with a particular Account of Job Ben Solomon, a Pholez, who was in England in the year 1733, and known by the name of the African. To which is added Capt. Stubbs' Voyage up the Gambia in the year 1723, to make Discoveries; with an accurate Map of that River taken on the spot: And many other Copper Plates. Also Extracts from the Nubian's Geography* [Edrisi's], *Leo the African, and other Authors ancient and modern, concerning the Niger, Nile and Gambia, and observations thereon;* by Francis Moore, Factor several years to the Royal African Company of England. London: Printed by Edward Cave, at St. John's Gate, for the Author, and sold by J. Stagg, in Westminster Hall; and at St. John's Gate aforesaid, M.DCCXXXVIII."

[2] In my work on *Africa*, vol. i, pp. 120-276, the history of the revolution in opinion on this subject is traced.

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it is difficult to say whether he, like others, did not consult the Latin too frequently. It differs from Pory, though it is not free from a few of the blunders of Florianus. Moore, who like many of the early West African traders, seems to have been a man of unusual intelligence, adds a few notes to his pages, some of which I have found of use in trying to interpret Leo's meaning.

Up to the year 1801, no German translation seems to have appeared; for in a critical summary of the book by the Hofrath Paul Jacob Bruns,[1] only the Latin of Florianus (Leyden edition, 1632) and the Italian of Ramusio are quoted. This paper is a useful analysis of Leo; but though the author was a student of African geography,[2] the information at his disposal scarcely enabled him to do much in the way of elucidation, while the attempt he makes to fix the principal dates of the Moor's career is not in accordance with the facts which we have extracted from the book itself.

But in the same year that Bruns published this brief analysis, Leo's work was made the theme of a discourse by Lorsbach, Prorector of the Nassau University, in which the inaccuracies of the Antwerp

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[1] *Leo's aus Africa Reisen in Africa,*" vom Herrn Hofrath Bruns (Gaspari und Bertuch's *Allgemeine Geographische Ephemerides*, vii Bds. Viertes Stück, April, 1801). Weimar, pp. 309-344.

[2] He wrote a *Neue Systematische Erdbeschreibung von Africa*, Nuremberg: 6 vols. (1791-99), as part of a general geography by Schneider and others.

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Latinist were anathematised in a tract of twenty pages, half Latin half German, composed in the true style of that grammarian who consigned his rival to perdition for his treatise on the irregular verbs. This exposure of his predecessor's inaccuracies was, however, only an advertisement showing the urgency of a fresh translation,[1] which was duly produced five years subsequently. So far as literal accuracy is concerned, this German version is faultless, but the author being entirely unfamiliar with the region described by Leo, adds nothing of his own to the elucidation of the text; and as African exploration was then in its infancy, he could benefit but scantily by the labours of others. Most of his emendata have, however, after verification, been embodied in the present volume.

This was the last version of Leo produced, though in 1830, Ramusio's Voyages[2] were reprinted at

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[1] *Johann Leo's des Afrikaner's Beschreibung von Afrika.* Herborn, 8vo, 1805. This version is, according to my experience, the rarest of all the editions of Leo. The British Museum does not possess a copy, and I have in vain searched other libraries for it, nor have I yet been able to obtain a copy in Germany (Feb. 4th, 1895).

[2] *Il Viaggio di Giovan Leone | e | le navigazioni | di Alvise da Ca da Mosto, di Pietro di Cintra, di Annone, | di un piloto Portoghese e di Vasco di Gama; | quali si leggono nella raccolta | di Giovambattista Ramusio. | Nuova Edizione, riveduta sopra quelle de' Giunti; in molti luoghi | emendata; ed arricchita di sei notizie che il viaggiatore, i navi | gatori ed il raccoglitore ragguardano. |* Volume Unico—[medal, with portrait of Ramusio, and on the reverse, a map of the world as known to him] Venezia, co' tipi di Luigi Plot. MDCCCXXX. Sm. folio, pp. 257. The notices of

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Venice, and Temporal's translation at Paris;[1] in both cases with careful revisions of the text, though without the maps or woodcuts in the original version.

I have only to add that the late Dr. Heinrich Barth promised, more than thirty years ago, to undertake the task which has fallen to a less competent successor. But it is understood that he had made little—if any—progress with a labour for which he was so eminently qualified, when his untimely death in 1865 postponed for more than a quarter of a century the reissue of a traveller, whose only rival in the knowledge of Northern and Central Africa had, up to that date, been Barth himself. Fortunately, however, the accomplished young German, in his two great works,[2] has put at our

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Ramusio, Leo, and other authors are signed "B." Leo's work occupies 168 double-columned pages. Only one volume was ever issued. This is the Italian text usually quoted.

[1] *De l'Afrique, | contenant | la description de ce pays, | par Leon l'Africain | et | la navigation des anciens Capitaines Portugais | aux Indes Orientales et occidentales. Traduction de Jean Temporal.* Four vols., 8vo. "Paris. Imprimé aux frais du gouvernement pour procurer du Travail aux ouvriers typographes. Août 1830" (De l'imprimerie de L. Cordier). Vol. i, pp. lv, 640; vol. ii, pp. 581; vol. iii, pp. xvii, 576; vol. iv, viii, 758. Leo's share of the work is vol. i, pp. 1-640, and vol. ii, pp. 1-324.

It is a beautiful piece of typography, which, apart from being undertaken to find "work for the unemployed printers", seems to have been suggested by the public interest in Africa, due to the capture of Algiers in 1830. A new French translation is meditated by M. Schefer, of Paris (Feb. 5th, 1895).

[2] *Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres,*

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disposal the most important portion of his information regarding the countries described in Leo; and, as the following pages will often bear witness, he, though dead, speaks again in the notes extracted from those volumes.

## Works compiled from Leo's Africa.

Though the above editions comprise all that can properly be described as acknowledged versions of Leo, there are many other works which are, to all intents and purposes, little more than compilations from the information which he supplies, or paraphrases of his text. Thus Marmol-Caravajal—who, like Leo, a native (1520) of Granada, and who was taken prisoner during the expedition of Charles V against Algiers, and for the next seven years travelled over a great part of North Africa—in his famous description of Africa,[1] merely translates largely from his predecessor's work, though he has the meanness to mention Leo's name only once.[2]

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*ausgeführt in den Jahren*, 1845, 1846, and 1847. Two vols. (1849); and *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of H. B. M's. Government in the years* 1849-1855. Five vols. (1857). See also his paper on the "State of Human Society in Central Africa", *Journal Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xxx, pp. 112-128.

[1] *Descripcion General de Africa*, etc., 1573. In our notes, the more accessible translation of D'Ablancourt (*L'Afrique*, 3 vols., 1667) is usually quoted.

[2] *Sub voce* "Berdoa". He has even the effrontery to appropriate some of the personal adventures of Leo!

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On the other hand, Langres de Tassy[1] copies freely from Marmol, while Joseph Morgan[2] is quite as much in his debt, though it is incorrect to say that his works are "mere translations" from Langres de Tassy.

Jean-Baptiste Gramaye[3] was an equally barefaced plagiarist of Leo and Marmol, "Maximum partem", runs the verdict of Hartmann, "quæ Geographiam spectant, ad verbum ex Leone desumsit". Manuel de Faria y Sousa[4] is also indebted to him for his information about various transactions, though without acknowledgment.

Dapper[5] puts Leo freely under contribution, while Ogilby's[6] huge folio is practically a translation of the

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[1] *Histoire du Royaume d'Alger* (1725).

[2] *History of Algiers, to which is prefixed an epitome of the General History of Barbary from the earliest times* (1728): *A Compleat History of the Piratical States of Barbary, etc., by a gentleman who resided there for many years in a public character* (1750).

[3] *Africæ Illustratæ, Lib. x in quibus Barbaria gentesque ejus ut olim ut nunc describantur* Tornaci-Nerviorum (Doornik), 1622. Gramaye, who like Florianus was a citizen of Antwerp, had been for some time a slave in Algiers (1619-1622), which to him was "Hell's epitome", "Miseries Ocean", "Whip of the Christian World", "Torture's Centre", etc. (1681).

[4] *Africa Portuguesa*, etc. (1681).

[5] *Nauwkeurige beschrijving der Afrikaansche Gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgered, Negroslant, Guinea, Ethiopiën, en Abyssinien.* Amsterdam, 1668, 2nd ed. 1676, fol.

[6] *Africa: being an accurate description of the regions of Egypt, Barbary, Lybia, and Billedulgerid*, etc., 1670. It is valuable historically for its plans of Tangier, while occupied by England. Petit de la Croix's *Relation Universelle de l'Afrique*, etc. (1688), is another plagiarism of Dapper.

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Dutch geographer. D'Avity, also, would never have written his work[1] had Leo not written before him. Livio Sanuto[2] is more honest, though scarcely less indebted to the Moor, and all the map-makers from Hondius[3] downwards, and even earlier—for in Ramusio and Pory there are maps of Africa based upon his descriptions—draw their information direct from his pages. Indeed, up to a very recent date, nine-tenth of the names on the maps of those parts of Africa traversed by him were placed there on his authority alone: for he was not only the great, but the sole authority in these regions.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that every author who had occasion to write on the Barbary States and the "Land of the Negroes", quotes him profusely. Höfer,[4] and Dureau de la Malle in his industrious digest of the geography of the Province of Constantine,[5] refer to him on almost every page; and as late as 1834, that most untrustworthy though voluminous author, Gråberg di Hemsö,[6] again and

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[1] *Description générale d'Afrique*, etc., 1643.

[2] *Geographia Distincta in xii libri*, 1588. The authors whom he most frequently cites are Leo, Cadamosto, Barros, Massoudi, and Ptolemy.

[3] *Atlas Minor*, 1608.

[4] *L'Univers pittoresque: Afrique* (vol. v), 1848.

[5] *Province de Constantine: Recueil de Renseignement pour l'expedition ou l'établissement des français dans cette partie de l'Afrique septentrionale*, 1837.

[6] *Specchio geografico, e statistico dell' impero di Marocco*, 1834. He also endeavoured (*Journal Roy. Geog. Soc.*, vol. vii, p. 243) to guess at some of the place-names in Leo; but the attempt quite

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again copies without acknowledgment Leo's descriptions of Moroccan towns; in many instances without even taking the trouble to ascertain whether they existed, or whether the data which were accurate in 1520 applied with the same strictness three centuries later. In like manner, Lord, in his work on "Algeria" (1830), compiles the geography in part from Leo.

All of the older writers on Africa exhaust themselves in eulogies upon the Moorish geographer. Pory has appended some of them to his own description of the parts of Africa undescribed by Leo. Chief among these admirers of our author was Richard Hakluyt.[1]

Authors of a later date are scarcely less unanimous in vouching for the merits of Leo. Walckenaer, who for his time was one of the most accurate students of African geography,[2] affirms that seventy years ago the geography of "Jean Léon, surnommé l'Africain", threw an entirely new light upon the interior of Africa, and that "c'est encore aujourd'hui pour ces régions la principale autorité, la source d'instruction la plus abondante et la plus pure. . . . Les notions les moins douteuses que l'on a pu acquérir dans les derniers temps, coïncident avec celles qu'il nous a données."

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deserves the uncomplimentary criticism bestowed on it by Tissot. (*Recherches sur la géographie comparée de la Maurétanie Tingitane*, 1877, pp. 148, 461.)

[1] See present edition, p. 103.

[2] *Recherches Géographiques sur l'intérieur de l'Afrique septentrionale*, etc. (1821), pp. 36, 84, 192.

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Hartmann, a still more learned commentator on mediæval geography,[1] is even more enthusiastic in his praise; he remarks: "De libelli eius praestantia inter omnes satis constat. Libellus (olim dicta enim repetere me non poenitet) est aureus: quo si caruissem lumine quasi quam saepissime caruissem."

Scarcely a traveller has written on Northern or Central Africa without citing Leo's opinions; not to cite the numerous minor writers who have been indebted to, or have spoken in appreciative terms of, the work, we may mention Renou, Pellissier, Carette, Shaw, Temple, Mannert, Guérin, Playfair, D'Avezac, Berbrugger, Castiglioni, the Beecheys; and last, but by no means least, Barth.

With the exception of some parts of the Atlas and the Riff country, all, or nearly all, of the regions described by Leo have been visited by European travellers. Hence, while the old writers accepted him as their sole available authority for the geography of vast tracts, without the possibility of checking his statements, the modern student is able to regard him merely as an historian—a personal witness of towns, and events, and manners which have passed away, or of circumstances which for four centuries have remained unaltered. But whenever we are in a position to test his statements, Leo's credit as an observer has gained rather than diminished. Hence, to-day, the traveller in Morocco, or in Algeria, or in Tunis, or in Tripoli, or in

[1] *Edrisii Africa*, ed. altera, 1796, p. xx.

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Egypt and Central Africa, finds frequent occasion to refer to John Leo, though seldom to scoff at his accuracy when he discourses of what he actually saw.

Indeed, among the many authors who have commented on, or pillaged from, or mentioned his book, the only ones whom I can remember as unfavourable to him are Morgan and Chenier. Morgan, himself one of the most audacious of plagiarists, prefers Marmol in spite of his being "somewhat too verbose, virulently partial, and not always correct.[1]

Chenier's meritorious treatise[2]—which is said to have given great offence to Sidi Mohammed X—though of little geographical value, sneers at Leo's description of Fez as exaggerated. But when the Scottish traveller, William Lithgow,[3] visited it about the year 1617, he was amazed at the grandeur of the mosques (into which, more fortunate than his successors, he was permitted to enter), and palaces, and caravanserais, which made it second only to Cairo, equal to Constantinople, and far superior to

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[1] *A Complete History of Algiers*, etc., by J. Morgan (1731), Preface, p. vii.

[2] *Recherches historiques sur les Maures* (1787), vol. iii, p. 65.

[3] *Totall Discourse of the Rare Adventures and Painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene yeares Travayles from Scotland to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Africa, wherein is contayned an Exact Relation of the Lawes, Religion, Policies, and Government of all their Princes, Potentates, and People. By William Lithgow; together with the grievous Tortures he suffered by the Inquisition of Malaga in Spaine* (1632), Part viii.

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Aleppo, these four cities being the greatest he had ever seen at home or abroad; though Lithgow seems to exaggerate when he affirms that the plain contained at that date "125,000 fine houses, and in them a million of souls." Even at that date it was a literary centre, the home of a "great number of poets", and the scene every year, on the Prophet's birthday, of literary competitions; albeit what he says on the subject bears a suspicious resemblance to Leo's description, though our traveller is never once mentioned by him.

## Leo's Status as a Traveller.

This general consensus of opinion regarding the merits of Leo—by the old writers who were compelled to take him on trust, and by the younger who were able to check many of his statements—may be accepted as a positive proof that the great reputation he has enjoyed for three-and-a-half centuries is not undeserved. He occupies, in the first place, a distinct position in the roll of African geographers. His period comes between those of El-Bekri and Edrisi on one side, and the histories of Marmol, Haedo, Birago, Diego de Torres, Gramaye, and the native historians on the other side. He may indeed be described as the last of the Arab scholars who derived their inspiration from the brilliant age of Mussulman civilisation in Spain; for the decadence of his people in polite letters began at the date of his birth; while even in his day, as he laments, the

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love of polite letters had ceased to be a passion with the African Moors. The Arab geographers before El-Bekri scarcely deserved the name. Their works were undigested compilations, out of which it is often difficult to make any sense. Into this category come Ibn el-Wardi and Kazwîni. Even the works of Abu-l-Feda and Ibn Haukal, both of which contain so many useful notes on the early geography of Africa, cannot be excluded from this general stricture.

El-Bekri, with whose works Leo was acquainted—for he begins Book VII with a reference to the fact that neither he nor Mas'ûdi supplies any information regarding the Negro country—contrary to what might be premised from his nationality, was not personally familiar with Africa. He was born at Cordova, towards the close of the eleventh or about the beginning of the twelfth century, and in his capacity of Khâtib had frequent opportunities of conversing with natives of the Northern provinces of Africa. The principal of these informants was a Berber, who came to Cordova about A.H. 352, as envoy from the Omayyid Khalif, Mostanser. But nowhere does Bekri say in so many words—"this I saw with my own eyes", or "heard with my own ears", as Leo is in the habit of doing. All that he is able to affirm is on the authority of some preceding writer, or the declaration of some native of the particular region he is describing, or the news brought back by travellers who had explored the region. His book is therefore a compilation of



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second-hand information; though, no doubt, owing to Spain and Africa being, at the time he wrote, under Arab rule, his opportunities for picking the brains of competent informants were excellent.

Edrisi was probably born about A.H. 493 (A.D. 1099-1100); and Casiri[1] seems to have satisfied himself, though on what grounds he does not inform us, that Ceuta, in Morocco, was his birth-place. Cordova appears to have been the place of his education, and from the intimacy with the geography of Spain which he displays, it is probable that he travelled through most of that country. However, he soon left for Sicily, whither many of his family had fled after the victory of 'Obeid Allah ben Ismaïl El-Mahdi, towards the commencement of the tenth century. In that island he won the favour of King Roger II, under whose patronage he wrote his "Going out of a Curious Man to explore the Regions of the Globe, its Provinces, Islands, Cities, and their Dimensions and Situations"; the alternative name of "Nubian Geography", which was given to it by Sionita and Hezronita, two of its editors, being altogether arbitrary, as the book is actually a description of the entire world known to Edrisi and his informants. He does not seem to have travelled much himself, for though he returned to Africa, and died at Ceuta, the work which formed so notable a landmark in the history of geography was a compilation from

[1] *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispanica*, vol. ii, p. 9.

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notes supplied him by agents sent out expressly for the purpose.

In this respect both he and El-Bekri differed widely from Leo, who wrote for the most part about what he had actually seen. But though Edrisi lacks the luminous style of Leo, the critical acumen which he bestowed on the materials put at his disposal, imperfect and inaccurate though many of them were, compares favourably with the credulity displayed by subsequent compilers such as the unknown writer whose plagiarisms have been so long accepted under the name of Sir John Maundevile's *Voyage and Travaile*, which seem to have been collected in the first two decades of the fourteenth century. It must also be remembered that when Edrisi wrote, the Berber dynasty of the Almohades had just dethroned that of the Almoravides; and that though the Arabs had begun to play a very secondary part in the West, they were still powerful in the East—a fact which the historian, in spite of his anxiety to be agreeable to his royal patron, tries to impress upon his readers. Leo also was the protégé of a powerful Christian sovereign—a circumstance which doubtless suggested to him the omission of much which might otherwise have been inserted in his volume. Thus he observes much the same kind of reticence regarding the conduct of the Spaniards and Portuguese in Morocco, which Edrisi does concerning the enterprise of Roger II.

Still, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of what Leo tells us. This, indeed, we can check by



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our own observations. The distinguishing feature of this writer is the minute accuracy regarding comparatively trifling matters. Kafsa (Caphsa), which he describes quite accurately, is inhabited, he informs us, by a people of "a rude and illiberall disposition and vnkinde vnto strangers: wherefore they are held in great contempt by all other Africans" (Book VI). This trait is still notorious, and was noticed by Sir Grenville Temple when he visited the place upwards of sixty years ago. Leo appears (as we have already noted) to have kept memoranda, otherwise it is impossible for his memory to have preserved so many details: though when he finished his volume he was very little over thirty years of age. As a tribute to his conscientiousness, when describing "the mountaine called Horteta"—the highest peak of the Atlas—he mentions that he saw many notable things there of which he could "make no discourse at all, partly because they are out of my remembrance". When Leo tells exactly what passed before his own eyes he is seldom far wrong; it is only when he trusts to others that he falls into absurdities. Throughout the book it is, however, his own knowledge that is mainly relied upon. It is only in matters of history that he quotes from other writers, and from the frequency with which he refers to them we obtain a hint regarding the extent of his reading. Thus, he knew his Ptolemy—as did Edrisi also—and his Orosius. He often quotes Ibn el-Rakîk, from whom he has taken his account of the early Arab invasions and

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other particulars, Edrisi, El-Bekri and Mas'ûdi; and though he does not mention him by name, his description of the Riff is so like that of Strabo as to suggest something more than a mere coincidence; and he is condescending towards Pliny as a man of merit who erred owing to his ignorance of Africa.

Nor, as we have seen, is his book free from errors for which he, and not his translation, is responsible. Thus, in addition to what we have already noted regarding his errors in dates and the like, he is altogether confused in discussing the site of Volubilis, and he places Agadir (Gartguessen) on the River Sus instead of six miles north of it, while he confounds that river with the Nessa. Nor is Leo innocent of blunders which cannot be attributable to imperfect knowledge of certain countries. Thus, he declares that the Chelif (Selef) rises in the Gunseris (Wanseres) Mountains and falls into the Mediterranean between Mezagran and Mostaganem; this river in reality having its source in the Jebel el-Amûr in the meridian of Algiers, and not in the Wanseres, which are much farther to the west, while its mouth is to the east, not to the west, of Mostaganem. Berbrugger[1] is, however, entirely wrong in affirming that Leo makes the Muluïa fall into the ocean. He expressly intimates that it enters "nel mare Mediterraneo non molto discosto della città di Casasa". It is Temporal who

[1] *Revue Africaine*, 1858, p. 363.

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makes this mistake, Florianus and Pory translating Leo's text quite accurately.

His description of Tuggurt (Techort) is, however, the most extraordinary of his few inaccuracies. "The ancient towne of Techort"—I am quoting Pory, who renders the meaning quite satisfactorily—"was built by the Numidians vpon a certain hill[1] by the foote whereof runneth a riuer, vpon which riuer standeth a draw bridge. The wall of this towne was made of free stone and lime,[2] but that part which is next vnto the mountaine hath instead of a wall an impregnable rock opposite against it:[3] this towne is distant fiue hundred miles[4] southward from the Mediterranean sea, and about 300 miles from Tegorarim (Tegorarin)". Again, in giving a list of the places he is about to describe in the west, he mentions first Tegorarin, then Mzab, then Tuggurt, and last of all Wargla, the enumeration proceeding from west to east. Yet Tuggurt is put to the west of Wargla. However, it is in the description of Tuggurt that he is most wide of the mark, for that town has always been built in a plain, not on a mountain. It has no river below, for that name could not reasonably be bestowed on the ditch or canal which receives the superfluous

[1] "Una montagna come un tufo"—a mountain in the form of a promontory.

[2] "Pietra viva e di creta."

[3] "Non della parte del monte, perciocche ivi è difesa delle rupe."

[4] Leo's miles are Roman.

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irrigation water furnished by artesian wells. But, as M. Berbrugger very justly remarks, if we admit this canal to be the little river *(fiumicello)* of Leo, and that he gives the name of a mountain to the earthwork where the town is fortified, it is impossible to understand how he places it between Mzab and Wargla, or how he accounts for those high rocks, of which there exists not a trace under the city walls.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that Leo stands out prominently among the writers, not only of his own age, but of succeeding ages, for his freedom from superstition and credulity, his absence of prejudice, and his unusual accuracy.

Marmol, who wrote nearly a century later, was an historian of a different type. His judgment had been warped by the wrongs he had suffered during his captivity in Barbary, differing so widely from the kindness which Leo met with in the course of his nominal servitude to the Pope. He displays without moderation on every page his violent religious prejudice, and his hatred of those who professed a different faith from his own. He even goes so far as to declare that his object in writing was to stimulate the Christian natives "to arm against the infidels". His position was a remarkable contrast to that of Leo's in Africa. The Moor passed out of Spain to receive honour and distinction among his kindred in Barbary. The Spaniard left the land of his birth to endure for more than seven years the humiliation of slavery, in the very regions

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through which his predecessor and townsman travelled in freedom and comfort. Leo took what notes he pleased. Indeed, as a man of letters, he was encouraged to write on any and every topic, and in his capacity of notary had ample opportunities for inscribing remarks on the peculiarities of the people with whom he came into contact. Marmol, by the surveillance of his guardians, was doubtless debarred any such privilege, so that his descriptions are taken almost verbatim from Leo, though as an historian he has merits of his own. Captain Carette[1] carries the contrast between the two great rivals in the geographical description of Africa still further. Thus, while Leo closed his travels as a captive, Marmol closed his as a free man in his own country, though it is equally to be regretted "que le Chrétien, transplanté sous la tente des Arabes, n'ait pu écrire tout ce qu'il voyait, et que le Maure, transplanté à la cour pontificale, n'ait pu dire tout ce qu'il savait". And it is curious to note that both writers ended life as they began it: the Spanish officer by a translation of the *Morals of Saint Brigitte:* the godson of Leo X by a treatise on the Mohammedan religion, and most likely by a recantation of the creed into which he had been baptised.

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[1] *Étude des routes suivies par les Arabes dans la partie méridionale de l'Algérie et de la régence de Tunis* ("Exploration Scientifique de l'Algérie," vol. i, 1844), pp. ix-xxiv.

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## The Credibility of Leo's Narrative.

Time has, therefore, dealt kindly with Leo: for if we find that he is worthy of general confidence on matters which can be checked, it is justifiable to assume that he is equally to be trusted when his statements cannot be verified. There are, for instance, parts of the Atlas which have not been visited since his day by any traveller capable of describing what he has seen; so that for the present, at least, it is impossible to confirm his description of certain villages, tribes, and geographical features, or even to identify them. Again, the condition of the African cities in the sixteenth century must, for the most part, be accepted on his word, and several towns described by him are no longer to be found—the very names have vanished.

This is, however, not a matter for any surprise. Three or four centuries work wonderful changes, even when a city of stone or brick and mortar is left to itself. The native towns of Barbary are generally built either of swish, of "tabia" (lime and clay), or of sun-dried bricks, which after a few rainy winters, if the houses are not repaired, return to their original clay; and when places are deserted, through war or other causes, it is difficult in a few years to trace the outlines of a once prosperous village, or even "city", after the Morocco fashion. An apt illustration of this is furnished by

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Shaw,[1] though he rather exaggerates the unsubstantiality of a Barbary town. "When I was at Tozer in December, A.D. 1727", he tells us, "we had a small drizzly shower that continued for the space of two hours; and so little provision was made against accidents of this kind, that several of the houses which are built only, as usual, with palm branches, mud, and tiles baked in the sun (corresponding perhaps to, and explanatory of, the untempered mortar, *Ezek.*, xiii, 11), fell down by imbibing the moisture of the shower. Nay, provided the drops had been larger, or the shower of longer continuance, or overflowing in the Prophet's expression, the whole city would have undoubtedly dissolved and dropt to pieces." Yet, in El-Bekri's day, Tozer was regarded as "a great city surrounded by a wall of stone and brick", many bazaars, suburbs, and a numerous population. Even to-day, though its walls are demolished, and it is little more than a collection of villages, Tozer is still a place of some consequence.

In Leo's pages we have repeated mention of towns being evacuated and being half in ruins when he saw them. This state of matters has been steadily in progress ever since. War, pestilence, or the whim of a Sultan, has led to once thriving places being deserted, so that it is no wonder that many "cities" visited by the traveller of four centuries

[1] *Travels and Observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant.* Second edition (1757), p. 136.

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ago are no longer to be seen. They have crumbled into mud, or a few blocks of tabia, still bearing traces of whitewash, stand amid the prickly acacia bushes or the palmetto scrub: mute evidence that on a spot where now no sound is heard save the squeak of the land-tortoises, or the whirl of the partridges, were, at a time of which tradition has not kept the record, the hives of a busy race of men.

Again, whole tribes have been exterminated, and towns razed, to gratify the vengeance of a conqueror. To threaten a city with being so completely destroyed that it might be sifted through a sieve, was a common hyperbole of the Moorish Sultans. Then, too, tribes not only disappear but change their homes. Thus, in Leo's day, the valley of the Ziz—or Siss—was inhabited by the Zanega, a Berber tribe, the same Mr. Ball[1] suggests, as the Azanegues, whom Ca da Mosto describes in the vicinity of the Wad Nûn. They have since migrated across the Sahara, and, still calling themselves Zanega and speaking a Berber dialect, are dangerous neighbours to the black people of the Senegal.

The names of places also change in time. One example out of many may suffice. Agadir, which

[1] Hooker and Ball, *Tour in Morocco* (1878), p. 377. This volume contains a useful paper on the geography of South Morocco; but Mr. Ball is in error when he supposes that "there is nothing in the published annals of the Portuguese wars with the Moors to suggest a belief that the former at any time established their authority in the interior of South Morocco, or even undertook any inland expeditions" (p. 383).

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in the Berber tongue means the wall (Arabic, *Sûr*), is identical with the place which Leo calls Gartguessem; yet at the time of the foundation of the Portuguese fort, and while the place on the hill grew, it was known to the Europeans as Santa Cruz, and to the natives as the Europeans' house (*i.e.*, *Tiguimmi-Rumi* of the Berbers, *Dâr-Rûmi* of the Arabs).

A village will often be known by the name of a noted chief or saint, and take that of his successor; or if, owing to any untoward incident, the old name is accounted "unlucky", it will in time be changed. Moreover, in North Africa, and especially in Morocco, there are almost universally two names for every place—the Arab and the Berber—and the one which a traveller hears depends very much on the nationality to which his informant belongs. On the coast, and for the better-known cities of the interior, there are usually three, the third being that applied by the Europeans as their transformation of the native one. This, however, is not likely to lead us far astray.

Leo had not, so far as we can gather from his remarks, any acquaintance with the Berber language; so that it is very probable that he occasionally mistook the pronunciation of place-names not Arabic; and when translating his Arabic manuscript into Italian adopted a puzzling form of transliteration, which may account for the peculiar shape some of the names have taken, or for others the identity of which is less easy to settle. In addition, it must have

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inevitably happened that Leo's manuscript contained the usual percentage of *lapsus pennæ;* while Ramusio's print, in spite of the care he bestowed upon it, contains various errors.

All of these factors must be taken into account in studying Leo's text and the accuracy of his statements. We must not therefore allow the fact that many of Leo's remarks no longer hold good at the present time to have more than its due weight.

## Changes since Leo wrote his Description of Africa.

Leo is sometimes considered to have been rather florid in his description of the riches and populousness of Northern Africa four centuries ago. But there is no room for doubt that the population of all the Barbary States, and that of Morocco in an especial degree, must, with the prosperity which population gives, have markedly diminished within the interval between Leo's day and ours. Even within the last century there has been a remarkable decrease in both. Any other conclusion is impossible. Arab and Berber families are usually large, but no natural increment could make up for the hecatombs slain in civil war, or laid low by epidemics and famine. The ruined towns and villages, the deserted hamlets, the legends of populous places where there are now no sounds save the cry of the jackal, together with the startling falling-off in the population of cities like Fez, Mekines and Merakesh,

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are proofs that even within the last century, or century and a half, the people of Morocco have been waning in numbers, while the decline in the prosperity of the Empire since Leo's day has been remarkable. Allowing that he did not permit his country to lose anything in the eyes of the Christians, for whom his famous work was written—although there is not much in its pages to demand any such postulate —these must have been flourishing times in all parts of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco, and particularly in Haha and other southern provinces, where the people lived in comparative prosperity and culture, where there were men of education quite equal to the average of the period in Europe, and even scholars of some distinction.

Yet it is difficult to fix the site of some of these, and at the present day squalor and ignorance take the place of the wealth and refinement which was then so notable. In all of them the population has dwindled away. Others, though bearing traces of former grandeur, are now little better than heaps of ruins and miserable villages, while the population of the country cannot be a third of what it was when Leo wrote. The iron and copper mines which were worked in his day are now scarcely legendary, and various crafts then generally practised have in our time ceased to be followed. Education was then so widespread that when Leo finds certain out-of-the-way districts deficient in a knowledge of reading and writing, the fact is considered worthy of note. No modern traveller would think

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this circumstance worthy of a special memorandum in his diary.

But otherwise, the Morocco of our day is amazingly like the Morocco which Leo knew so well; just as his Africa, as a whole, is very like the Africa of Herodotus or the "Dark Continent" of the latest explorer. There is always the same tawdry magnificence and the same squalid misery; the same absence of any middle class between wealthy despotism and grinding poverty; the same lack of change, or desire to change, among the people. The population is smaller and poorer, and as a whole less enlightened; yet they cherish the same customs as their forefathers, and the inhabitants of particular sections of the country are distinguished by traits identical with those which the keen-eyed Moor noted four hundred years ago, and the more remote the region the more exactly do Leo's words still apply. Cross-question, for example, an Arab from Sus on the places described in this work, and you will be startled to find him—of course entirely ignorant of the purport of your questions, and of the existence of the old historian—giving answers which confirm almost verbatim the statements made by him.

And the government is much what it always was. The Empire is now nominally under a single head. Yet now, as always, the Chiefs of the Southern Arabs, and of the Berber tribes of the North, and of some Arab septs, etc., recognise the authority of the Sultan only when they are defeated by the army

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with which he is all the summer marching to-and-fro, collecting his internal revenue, or engaged in punitory expeditions against the refractory subjects who have despitefully used his officials. The merciless tyranny of the latter is as abominable as ever, and the injustice, the venality, and the ruthlessness which are the concomitants of Moorish rule, even more remarkable in our day than his, though possibly the central authority is now stronger than it was four hundred years ago. However, many of the Atlas, Sus and Riff tribes preserve their autonomy more or less perfectly, though the democratic governments which prevailed in towns like Sallee, Tarudent and Saffi (before the Portuguese seized it) have long ago been crushed.

The Berbers of 1895 love the Arabs no better than those of 1455 did; and then, as now, the former, living in stationary villages on the hills, are liable to raid the flocks of the tented nomads in the valleys below, with murderous reprisals when opportunity offers on the part of the latter. No later than 1888, the then Sultan, Mulaï el-Hasan, on one of his expeditions against the Beni-M'tir and other mountain tribes, got himself so hemmed in that it was with difficulty a way was cut out for him by the courage of Kaïd Maclean and his troops; and still more recently one of the late Sultan's sons had an equally narrow escape from the Zenmur tribe, whose country is not far from Sallee-Rabat. In short, the ancient "Mauri"—which the Berbers are—have not, in spite of the lapse of twelve centuries,

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been conquered yet; while little risings are of constant occurrence, and for generations no Sultan has succeeded to the throne without having to crush the more or less formidable risings led by his rivals.[1] Still, turbulence and brigandage are less frequent than in earlier times, and the safety of travellers is something to be reckoned upon with greater confidence.

With the exception of the Spanish presidios on the coast, no Christian power has any part of the Moroccan soil under its flag, and hence war against the European powers is not so constant as it was when, as in Leo's day, Spain and Portugal held most of the seaports in their grasp. Christians have also been treated with greater respect, since piracy and the enslavement of captives have ceased, though it is questionable whether they are loved any better than in former days. There are numbers of them in all the coast towns, and within the last two years agents of commercial houses have managed for the first time to establish themselves in Fez and Marakesh respectively. In these cities, also, ladies, representatives of a Scottish missionary society, have had the courage to live and dispense medicines, for which the Moorish appetite is ravenous; though I am not aware that their efforts have been crowned with much success, if ever they have openly attempted the perilous task of proselytising.

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[1] The young Mulaï 'Abd el-Azîz has, up to date, escaped better than his predecessors.



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In other respects, the interior is still left entirely to the natives, in spite of the fact that by treaty obligation every part of the Empire is free to the "Nasrâni". Many parts can, indeed, be visited only at the peril of the traveller, and there are vast regions in Sus and in the Atlas, and the country beyond, where not even the safe-conduct of the Sultan is of any service to the explorer. During the period of Leo Africanus, and certainly for more than two centuries subsequently, Europeans visited the out-of-the-way parts of Morocco almost as freely as they do at present, and were even able to trade with places, such as Tarudent, from which they are at present practically debarred.[1]

Still, take it as a whole, Morocco has not changed to anything like the same extent which Europe has in four centuries, though it would—from the facts mentioned—be unreasonable to expect every little town and village which Leo described to exist, or to be exactly as they were in his day. It is still as roadless, and as bridgeless as ever. Indeed, it is probable that not one of the half dozen bridges in the Empire dates from a period much later than his, and the few ferryboats afloat in his time have, in

[1] Roger Bodenham, previous to his trip to Mexico in 1564 (*Hakluyt*, vol. iii), used to "trade and traffic to the ports of Barbary", and suffered loss and hindrance "by that new trade begun by me in the city of Fez"; and when Captain John Smith —afterwards of New England—went to Morocco in search of soldierly service, he found several free Englishmen prospering in Marakesh (*Bibliography of Morocco*, No. 173).

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some instances, not been replaced. The trains of loaded camels, horses, mules and donkeys, and the long cavalcade of mountain travellers, still trudge at a walking pace over the same narrow bridle-paths as their predecessors did a thousand years or more ago. There has been absolutely no change, except for the worse, and any advances made in the coast towns are due entirely to the enterprise of foreigners.

An exception might be made in favour of the army, though it is questionable whether the instruction of the tribesmen in the use of instruments of more murderous efficiency can be described as progress. Part of the standing army is now commanded and drilled by European officers, and a French military commission, forced upon the Sultan, usually accompanies his punitory expeditions. A few thousands of the men are provided with arms of greater precision than flint-lock muskets, and among the equipment of the forces are some Krupp and Armstrong guns. But medical staff or commissariat are as little known to the Shereefian army as humanity and the first principles of hygiene. "Copples" of wretched prisoners secured by the neck accompany the victors in the civil broils described, and happy is the fate of these unfortunates if their heads surmount the city gates. Too frequently they are sent to rot in loathsome dungeons; or if believed to be rich, or the relations of rich people, they are tortured until they discover their hoards, or their kinsmen relieve their sufferings by disgorging to their cruel gaolers—which has



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been the way of Barbary and the East generally ever since time was.

Algeria—though this name was not then devised—has changed most of all, though there, as elsewhere, the ways of the country people are not widely different from what they have been for more than eleven centuries. When Leo travelled through that region it was still broken up into a number of small independent kingdoms, under native princes of Arab or Berber descent; though then, as was the case for long subsequently, the mountain tribes and the desert nomads recognised no rulers but their own chiefs. The most powerful of these petty monarchs was the King of Tlemsen, though most of what is now Algeria was then under the Kings of Tunis. But the provinces of Algiers proper and Tennez were generally bestowed by the Tlemsen sovereign on sons or relations, who acted nominally as Viceroys, though in reality as all but independent rulers. But a little before Leo visited the country the disruption had begun, by Spain (1505-10) taking advantage of dissensions among these petty sovereigns to invade the country, and conquer in succession Mersa el-Kebîr, Oran, Dellys, Bougia, Mostaganem, Tlemsen and Algiers, in so far that this town consented to pay tribute and to abandon piracy. To enforce these conditions a fort was built on the Peñon,[1] part of which still exists as a foundation for the lighthouse.

[1] "A certaine high rocke standing opposit the towne."—LEO.

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It was at this juncture (1516) that the so-called "Emir", Salem ben Teumi, hearing of the exploits of the brothers Bâbâ-Arûj and Kheir ed-Dîn—better known as Barbarossa, a corruption of the elder brother's Turkish name[1]—invited them to help

[1] These two remarkable adventurers, whose names often figure in Leo, were—so it is generally accepted, though the question is a disputed one—the sons of Mohammed, an Albanian renegade, who occupied a post of some importance in the navy of the Sultan Bâyazîd. Retiring to the island of Mitylene to escape punishment for a misdemeanour, he married in the town of Bonava a Christian named Catalina, the widow of a Greek priest. This is the statement of Sandoval (*Historie de la vida y hechos del imperador Carlos V*, 1581), who positively contradicts the statement of Paulus Jovius (Pauli Jovii Novocomensis Episcopi Nucerini, *Historia sui Temporis*, lib. xxiii, cited in *Rerum à Carolo V Cæsare Augusto in Africa bello gestarum Commentarii*, etc. Antwerp, 1555, p. 70) that they were the sons of a Greek priest who had apostatised (vol. i, p. 65), and there is no basis for the assertion of Marmol that the elder brother was born in Sicily of an Andalusian mother. By his Greek wife Mohammed had six children: two daughters, brought up as Christians (one of them as a Religieuse), and four sons, who, as was the fashion in these mixed marriages, embraced the religion of their father. The eldest of these was Arûj, or Harûj (according to an Arabic MS. of Gazewat in the National Library of France, translated by Venture); Horuc (according to Sandoval), Latinised by Paulus Jovius into Horucius, and in the MS. memoirs of Cardinal de Granvelle in the Besançon Library into Horuscius; and Aruch, according to Haedo's spelling. He was brought up as a sailor. (2) Ishâk, a carpenter. (3) Kheir ed-Dîn, variously rendered in European histories by Haïradin, Chaïradine, Haradin, and Tcherdine—who was brought up to his father's newly-adopted trade of pottery. (4) Mohammed (sometimes called Ilyâs), who aspired to the holy life of a Marabout, or Saint. Sandoval (vol. i, p. 64) is the authority for the doubtful assertion so widely credited that he derived his well-known name of Barbarossa from the Knights of

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him to dislodge the Spaniards from the castle commanding the town, of which he was the nominal ruler. These Corsairs had already (1512-1515) failed to take Bougia, but in 1514 they had turned the Genoese out of Jijelli. Accordingly, they readily accepted Salem ben Teumi's invitation, and not only succeeded in making themselves masters of the town, but putting the Emir to death proclaimed Bâbâ-Arûj king in his place. This was the beginning of the Turkish Empire in Algeria, as Leo relates, partly from his own observations, but to a large extent from second-hand information, some of the events noted having happened after his departure from the country. For, sore pressed by the Spaniards on one side, and by the native Algerians on the other, Kheir ed-Dîn, who had succeeded his brother (1518), put himself under the suzerainty of

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Malta (Rhodes), by whom he was taken captive and served as a galley-slave.—"Y como era vermejo", he tells us, "llamaren le todos Barbarrosa no saviendo por ventura su proprio nombre." —Rotalier, *Histoire d'Alger* (1841), t. i, pp. 76, 77, 79; M. de Grammont (*Revue Africaine*, No. 171 (1885), p. 226; and *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination Turque* [1887]) is, however, convinced that the old etymology is the right one. Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, t. ii (1888), p. 426, etc.; Rang et Denis, *Fondation de la Regence d'Alger, Histoire de Barberousse, Chronique Arabe du xvie siècle, publiè sur un manuscript de la Bibliothèque royale, avec un appendice et des notes*, etc. (1837), vol. ii, pp. 103-107. This anonymous Arab author describes them as the sons of Yakub Reis: "honnête musulman qui fasait un petit commerce maritime, dans l'Archepel, avec un navire qu'il commandait."

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the Sultan, Selîm I, by whom he was named Pasha of Algiers.

The subsequent events it is not necessary to recapitulate at any length. The Turks gradually extended their conquests over the whole of Algeria, and all the Barbary States except Morocco, where they never had a footing (though they marched on Fez). The Pashas were succeeded by the Deys, whose vile rule lasted until 1830, when the French seized Algiers, and in the course of a few years, after in vain trying the experiment of suzerain native princes,[1] took possession of the entire region. The result was good government, good roads, fine railways, public buildings far in advance of the necessities of the colony, and the transformation of all the old crumbling Arabo-Turkish towns.

But of the Turkish rule Leo said little. Even that of Barbarossa had not fairly begun when he was taken to Italy. Yet he saw most of the incidents described, having travelled from Fez to Tunis, and been entertained by "one that was sent ambassadour from the people of Alger into Spaine, from whence he brought three thousand bookes written in the Arabian toong"; an event dating prior to the Spanish

[1] Thus 'Abd el-Kader was Emir of Tlemsen, and of all the Province of Oran, beside Titeri, his governors ruling in Miliana and Medea; and until 1837, Hâjj-Ahmed was, if not formliay recognised, the independent ruler of Constantine, the French not even attempting to displace him until 1836, on which occasion Marshal Clauzel met with a grievous reverse.

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domination mentioned. He was at Bougia during the time Barbarossa was besieging the place. There were two sieges of this town, one in 1512 by Bâbâ-Arûj (who lost an arm in the attack), and the other, not more successful, in 1515, by his brother, Kheir ed-Dîn. As Leo expressly limits the name of Barbarossa to the elder brother, this must refer to the former of these two sieges. But as the Moor tells us that he afterwards proceeded to Constantine in the due course of his journey, and next to Tunis, hearing in the meantime that "Barbarossa was slaine at Tremizen,[1] and that his brother called Cairadin succeeded in the government of Alger", (which took place in 1518), this could scarcely have referred to the same journey. It is, indeed, probable that the news reached him after he had left the country, for immediately after he tells us how "we heard also" that "the Emperour Charles the fift had sent two armies to surprize Alger: the first whereof was destroied vpon the plaine of Alger, and the second hauing assailed the towne three daies together was partly slaine and partly taken by

[1] This event took place not actually at Tlemsen—as usually stated—but at the River of Oudja, or Rio Salado, west of Oran, when, after his escape from the city which he had defended for twenty-six days, Arûj was overtaken by Alfonso Velasco (not Martin d'Agote, as Marmol has it). The man who slew him after a desperate fight was the ensign, Garcia de Tineo. On this subject, Elie de Primaudace's *Histoire de l'occupation Espagne en Afrique* (1506-1574): *Documents inédits* (1875), p. 25 *et passim*, and Berbrugger, *Revue Africaine*, vol. iv, pp. 25-33, may be profitably studied.

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Barbarossa, insomuch that very few escaped backe into Spaine. This was done in the yeere of the Hegeira nine hundred and twentie two"—which gives the incorrect date of A.D. 1516. Moreover, though the army sent by Ximenes (who became Regent of Spain on the death of Ferdinand[1]) under the command of Diego de Vera was so utterly routed, that after his return to Spain the children shouted after him that Barbarossa with one arm defeated him with two, the defeat was not quite so complete as Leo describes. Still, as he saw the close of the Arab and Berber rule, and the beginning of the Turkish, this portion of the Moor's narrative is more than usually valuable.

Tunisia has changed perhaps less than Algeria, so far as the civilisation of the people is concerned; but territorially it has altered quite as much. Before the events which led to the settlement of the Turks in Barbary, the Kings of Tunis were the most powerful of the sovereigns in that part of North Africa. Their power extended from Tripoli in the east, to Constantine and Bougia in the west, these principalities being generally governed by relatives, sons or favourites of the king. In addition to the authority they exercised in their immediate dominions, the Tunisian sovereigns had much influence with the Arab tribes, in what it is now the

[1] Charles V was then a boy of sixteen, and was not elected Emperor till three years later. I quote Pory; but, as will be seen by-and-by, both Florianus and he have given a very slovenly translation.

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fashion to call their "hinterland". But several of the provincial governors were, as in the neighbouring kingdoms, almost independent. It is perhaps needless to add that neither Bougia nor Constantine is now a fief of Tunis, while Tripoli has long been a possession of the Sultan of Turkey.

When Leo knew Tunis (before 1520, for his subsequent residence and death in that country are problematical) Mulaï Abu 'Abd Allah Mohammed, of the Beni Hafs dynasty, was King. He died in 1525. For a time his heirs maintained, with the help of the Spaniards to whom they had become vassals, a nominal power, alternated by tussles with Dragut the Corsair, who was twice master of the city of Tunis. But the last of these suffragan princes disappeared when the Turks ousted the Spaniards. Then, from the 3rd of September 1573, to the 12th of May 1881, the "Khutba" was read in the name of the reigning Sultan of the Osmanlis. But from the latter of these dates, Tunis, from being a Regency of Turkey—though in reality governed by a Dey or a Bey independent in everything but the name—became a Protectorate of France, or, in other words, a colony conveniently ruled in a despotic manner by a Resident who, as Mayor of the Palace, issues his decrees in the name of Sidi 'Ali, brother of Mohammed es-Sadok, the ruler whom the French insisted on "protecting". He will, most likely, even as *roi fainéant*, be the last reigning descendant of Hussein ben 'Ali, the Greek renegade, who, in 1705, was

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elected Bey by the Turkish soldiers, and thus founded the dynasty now on the eve of expiring.

Since the new condition of affairs, Tunisia has changed somewhat. Justice is better, if not so cheap, and tyranny, other than that of the bureaucrat, is unknown. The coast-towns have all received a garrison, and have acquired a varnish of the *café* type of civilisation; a railway runs from the city of Tunis to Algiers, and two smaller ones to Goletta, Carthage, and Hamman el-Enf. There is a boulevard and a European quarter outside the walls of the capital, which are already getting breached; and a costly system of administration has been introduced, entirely unsuited to a land in which the old patriarchal rule, purified and improved, would have been amply sufficient.

But the interior is even yet very little affected by the Franks. There the Arabs live as they have always lived, and though the traveller is no longer in the imminent peril of losing his purse and his life, as he was before the days of the protectorate, the habits of the tribesmen are unaltered.

Tripoli, Barca and Cyrenaica are perhaps the least changed of all the Barbary States—less so than even Morocco. For, though the country is now a *vilayet* of the Ottoman Empire, there has been little alteration in it during the last four or five centuries. When Leo visited this region, it was in a state of transition as regards rulers. Don Pedro Navarro had just (1510) wrested the city of Tripoli from the Tunisian sovereign, on behalf of Ferdinand

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the Catholic. Thirteen years later, Charles V bestowed it upon the Knights of St. John, who, in 1553, were compelled to surrender to Dragut and Sinan, the Turkish pirates. Up to the year 1714 the country was governed by Bashaws, who were tributary to Constantinople, in much the same way that the Deys of Algiers or the Beys of Tunis were. But, in that year, Ahmed Pasha Karamanli became actually independent, and his descendants continued to rule Tripoli until 1835, when the Turks took advantage of a civil war to reassert their own authority.

Yet all these revolutions affected only the city of Tripoli and a few of the coast towns. A little way into the interior, the Arabs and Berbers lived without troubling themselves much over who had, or who had not, "Tarabulus al-Gharb", except in so far as the quarrels for mastery interfered with their caravan trade, the crocus gardens from whence their saffron was produced, or their chance of plunder. Tripoli (like the adjoining parts of Barbary) ought to-day to be under the successors of the Knights; for the Maltese are still their commercial masters, and, beyond such civilisation as they have brought in their train, this dirty Moorish town bears few traces, except in its battered fortifications, of having been so often contended for by half the nations of Christendom. A few miles beyond the walls the country is stationary. Roads and wheeled carriages are unknown, the safety of travellers not to be reckoned on, and railways a dream which never disturbs the sleep of the drowsy inhabitants.

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Egypt is, so far as the river-side and coast towns are concerned, a very different land from that which Leo described. All these are Frenchified or Anglicised. Railways thread the country, and martial airs of the Gaiours' garrisons call the Faithful to prayer. But Leo made his acquaintance with the Nile Valley at an interesting period of its history, namely, just subsequent to the year 1517, when the long line of Slave Kings—called the Bahri, or Turkish, and the Burgi, or Circassian, Mamelukes, to whose enlightened love of art Cairo still bears witness—came to an end on the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Sultan Selîm I. Leo's description of Lower Egypt contains the earliest account which we possess of the "Soldan's" court, both before and after this grievous misfortune for the Delta. Otherwise, the data he supplies regarding the country at large are less important than those concerning other regions; and he seems to have compiled his accounts of "Anthius" and other places either from inaccurate information, or from manuscripts which he met with in Rome, since it is difficult to make them fit in with known facts.

Finally, the central portions of Africa visited by him have not until lately changed at all (except those situated on the fringe of the desert south of Algeria or on the Upper Niger), or, at least, only in so far that one dynasty of black kings has been succeeded by another. His description of the towns would serve equally well to-day: his accounts

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of the habits of the people are not very different from those brought home by the most recent explorers. But in the four centuries which have elapsed since his day, Africa has been penetrated in every direction, and Timbuktu, of which he gives the earliest account known to us, has been reached by many travellers; while the Niger was descended in 1889 from Barnaku almost to the city itself—which is not on the river—by a French steam-launch,[1] and in 1894 this city was occupied by a French garrison.

Timbuktu is thus, with most of the Sahara, now brought within the French "sphere of influence". In time a railway will reach it either from Senegal or from Algeria, and this once mysterious city will receive unbelieving visitors as complacently as has the holy city of Kairwân since 1882. Bornu and Sokoto and "Ghinea", with much of the Upper Niger and Lake Tschad country may, in like manner, become at some future date a Protectorate of Great Britain.

In his particularisation of the genealogies of the Upper Niger kings, Leo falls into some blunders, which will be pointed out in the proper place, and

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[1] This voyage to Kabasa, the port of Timbuktu, was made by Lieut. Carson in 1887: two years later Lieut. Jaimé made a second trip with two gunboats, starting from Kuliman, close to Barnaku, reaching the neighbourhood of Timbuktu without difficulty.—Caron, *De Saint-Louis au Port de Tombouktou. Sourai*, 1891. Col. Bonnier occupied it on the 10th January 1894.

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his natural history is, with few exceptions, very indifferent. This, indeed, is the most unsatisfactory section of Leo's volume; his critical faculty is at its worst when he enlarges on "the strange beasts and other liuing creatures of Africa"—the lions 120 feet in length, "the sea-oxe," and "the huge and monstrous dragons"—notwithstanding his amusing patronage of Pliny, who was among the number of authors he had read with evident attention.

Altogether, in closing these preliminary critical remarks on the old African traveller, it is not saying more than he deserves when I affirm that he is one of the few geographical writers of his age who can still be read, not merely for the purposes of the historian, or for entertainment—and he is good for both—but also for actual information regarding the condition of the countries and the habits of the people described by him.

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# A GEOGRAPHICAL HISTORIE of AFRICA,

*Written in Arabicke and Italian*

by IOHN LEO a More, borne *in Granada, and brought vp* in Barbarie.

*Wherein he hath at large described, not onely the qualities, situations, and true distances of the regions, cities, townes, mountaines, riuers, and other places throughout all the north and principall partes of Africa; but also the descents and families of their kings, the causes and euents of their warres, with their manners, customes, religions, and ciuile gouernment, and many other memorable matters: gathered partly out of his owne diligent obseruations, and partly out of the ancient records and Chronicles of the Arabians and Mores.*

Before which, out of the best ancient and moderne writers, is prefixed a generall description of Africa, and also a particular treatise of all the maine lands and Iles vndescribed by *Iohn Leo.*

*And after the same is annexed a relation of the great Princes, and the manifold religions in that part of the world.*

Translated and collected by IOHN PORY, lately of Goneuill and Caius College in Cambridge.

*LONDINI,*

*Impensis Georg. Bishop.*

1600

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# TO THE RIGHT HONORA-

## ble sir ROBERT CECIL, Knight, princi-

## *pall Secretarie to her Maiestie, Master*

of the Court of Wardes and Liueries, and

*one of her Highnes most Honorable priuie Counsell.*

O heere the first fruits, or rather the tender buddes and blossomes of my labours. Which least in this their winterly sprouting they might perhaps by some bitter blasts of censure be frost-nipped, I humbly recommend to your Honorable protection.

Most due they are onely to your selfe, being for the greatest part nothing else, but a large illustration of certaine southern voiages of the English, alreadie dedicated to your Honour. And at this time especially I thought they would prooue the more acceptable: in that the Marocan ambassadour (whose Kings dominions are heere most amplie and particularly described) hath so lately treated with your Honour concerning matters of that estate.

Vouchsafe therefore (right Honorable) according to your accustomed humanitie towards learning, to accept of this Geographicall historie, in like manner as it pleased your Honour not long since most fauourablie to take in good part those commendable indeuours of my reuerend friend M. *Richard Hakluyt:* who out of his mature iudgement in these studies, knowing the excellencie of this storie aboue all others in the same kinde, was the onely man that mooued me to translate it.

At London this three and fortieth most ioifull Coronation-day of her sacred Maiestie.

1600.

*Your Honors alwaies most*
readie to be commanded
IOHN PORY.



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# To the Reader.

*Iue me leaue (gentle Readers) if not to present vnto your knowledge, bicause some perhaps may as wel be informed as my selfe; yet, to call to your remembrance, some fewe particulars, concerning this* Geographicall Historie, *and* Iohn Leo *the author thereof.*

*Who albeit by birth a* More, *and by religion for many yeeres a* Mahumetan: *yet if you consider his* Parentage, Witte, Education, Learning, Emploiments, Trauels, and his conuersion to Christianitie; *you shall finde him not altogither vnfit to vndertake such an enterprize; nor vnwoorthy to be regarded.*

*First therefore his* Parentage *seemeth not to haue bin ignoble: seeing (as in his second booke himselfe testifieth) an Vncle of his was so Honorable a person, and so excellent an Oratour and Poet; that he was sent as a principall Ambassadour, from the king of* Fez, *to the king of* Tombuto.[1]

*And whether this our Author were borne at Granada in Spaine, (as it is most likely) or in some part of Africa,*[2] *certaine it is, that in naturall sharpenes and viuacitie of* Wit, *he most liuely resembled those great and classicall authours,* Pomponius Mela, Iustinus Historicus, Columella, Seneca, Quintilian, Orosius, Prudentius, Martial, Iuuenal, Auicen, &c. *reputed all for Spanish writers; as likewise* Terentius Afer, Tertullian, Saint Augustine, Victor, Optatus, &c. *knowen to be writers of Africa. But amongst great varietie which are to be found in the processe of this*

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*notable discourse, I will heere lay before your view one onely patterne of his surpassing wit. In his second booke therefore, if you peruse the description of* Mount Tenueues, *you shall there finde the learned and sweete* Arabian *verses of* Iohn Leo, *not being then fully sixteene yeeres of age, so highly esteemed by the Prince of the same mountaine, that in recompence thereof, after bountifull entertainment, he dismissed him with gifts of great value.*

*Neither wanted he the best* Education *that all* Barbarie *could affoord. For being euen from his tender yeeres trained vp at the Vniuersitie of* Fez, *in* Grammar, Poetrie, Rhetorick, Philosophie, Historie, Cabala, Astronomie, *and other ingenuous sciences, and hauing so great acquaintance and conuersation in the kings court: how could he choose but prooue in his kinde a most accomplished and absolute man? So as I may iustly say (if the comparison be tolerable) that as* Moses *was learned in all the wisedome of the* Egyptians; *so likewise was* Leo, *in that of the* Arabians *and* Mores.

*And that he was not meanely, but extraordinarily learned; let me keepe silence, that the admirable fruits of his rare* Learning, *and this Geographicall Historie among the rest may beare record. Besides which, he wrote an* Arabian Grammar, *highly commended by a great Linguist of* Italie *who had the sight and examination thereof; as likewise a booke of the liues of the* Arabian *Philosophers; and a discourse of the religion of* Mahumet; *with diuers excellent Poems, and other monuments of his industrie, which are not come to light.*

*Now as concerning his* Emploiments, *were they not such as might well beseeme a man of good worth? For (to omit how many courts and campes of princes he had frequented) did not he, as himselfe in his third booke witnesseth, personally serue king* Mahumet *of* Fez *in his wars against* Arzilla? *And was he not at another time, as appeereth out of his second*

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*Booke, in seruice and honorable place vnder the same king of* Fez, *and sent ambassadour by him to the king of* Maroco? *Yea, how often in regard of his singular knowledge and iudgement in the lawes of those countries, was he appointed, and sometimes constrained at diuers strange cities and townes through which he trauelled, to become a iudge and arbiter in matters of greatest moment?*

*Moreouer as touching his exceeding great* Trauels, *had he not at the first beene a* More *and a* Mahumetan *in religion, and most skilfull in the languages and customes of the* Arabians *and* Africans, *and for the most part trauelled in* Carouans, *or vnder the authoritie, safe conduct, and commendation of great princes: I maruell much how euer he should haue escaped so manie thousands of imminent dangers. And (all the former notwithstanding) I maruel much more, how euer he escaped them. For how many desolate cold mountaines, and huge, drie, and barren deserts passed he? How often was he in hazard to haue beene captiued, or to haue had his throte cut by the prouling* Arabians, *and wilde Mores? And how hardly manie times escaped he the Lyons greedie mouth, and the deuouring iawes of the Crocodile? But if you will needes haue a briefe iournall of his trauels, you may see in the end of his eight booke, what he writeth for himselfe.* Wherefore (saith he) if it shall please God to vouchsafe me longer life, I purpose to describe all the regions of Asia which I haue trauelled: to wit, Arabia Deserta, Arabia Petrea, Arabia Felix, the Asian part of Egypt, Armenia, and some part of Tartaria; all which countries I sawe and passed through in the time of my youth. Likewise I will describe my last voiages from Constantinople to Egypt, and from thence vnto Italy, &c. *Besides all which places he had also beene at* Tauris *in* Persia: *and of his owne countrey, and other* African *regions adioining and remote, he was so diligent a traueller; that there was no kingdome, prouince, signorie, or citie; or*

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*scarcelie any towne, village, mountaine, valley, riuer, or forrest, &c. which he left vnuisited. And so much the more credite and commendation deserueth this woorthy Historie of his; in that it is (except the antiquities, and certaine other incidents) nothing else but a large* Itinerarium *or* Iournal *of his* African *voiages: neither describeth he almost any one particular place, where himselfe had not sometime beene an eie-witnes.*

*But, not to forget* His conuersion to Christianitie, *amidst all these his busie and dangerous trauels, it pleased the diuine prouidence, for the discouery and manifestation of Gods woonderfull works, and of his dreadfull and iust iudgements performed in* Africa *(which before the time of* Iohn Leo, *were either vtterly concealed, or vnperfectly and fabulously reported both by ancient and late writers) to deliuer this author of ours, and this present Geographicall Historie, into the hands of certaine* Italian *Pirates, about the isle of* Gerbi, *situate in the gulfe of* Capes, *betweene the cities of* Tunis *and* Tripolis *in* Barbarie. *Being thus taken, the Pirates presented him and his Booke vnto* Pope Leo the tenth: *who esteeming of him as of a most rich and inualuable prize, greatly reioiced at his arriuall, and gaue him most kinde entertainement and liberall maintenance, till such time as he had woone him to be baptized in the name of* Christ, *and to be called* Iohn Leo, *after the Popes owne name. And so during his abode in* Italy, *learning the* Italian *toong, he translated this booke thereinto, being before written in* Arabick. *Thus much of* Iohn Leo.

*Now let vs acquaint you with the Historie it selfe. First therefore from so woorthy an author, how could an historie proceed but of speciall woorth and consequence? For proofe whereof, I appeale vnto the translations thereof into* Latine, Italian, Spanish, French, English, *and (if I be not deceiued) into some other languages,*[3] *which argue a generall approbation of the same. I appeale also to the grand and most*

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* Read pag. 59 of places vndescribed by Iohn Leo.

*iudiciall Cosmographer** *Master* Iohn Baptista Ramusius, *sometime Secretarie to the state of* Venice, *who in the Preface to his first volume of voiages, so highly commendeth it to learned* Fracastoro, *and placeth it euery word in the very forefront of his discourses, as the principal and most praisewoorthy of the all. And were renowned* Ortelius *aliue, I would vnder correction report me to him; whether his map of* Barbarie *and* Biledulgerid, *as also in his last* Additament *that of the kingdomes of* Maroco *and* Fez, *were not particularly and from point to point framed out of this present relation, which he also in two places at the least preferreth farre before all other histories written of* Africa.[4] *But to leaue the testimonies of others, and to come neerer to the matter it selfe; like as our prime and peerelesse English Antiquarie master* William Camden *in his learned* Britannia, *hath exactly described* England, Scotland, Ireland, *and the isles adiacent (the which by* Leander *for* Italie, *by* Damianus a Goez *briefly for* Spaine, *by* Belforest *for* France, *by* Munster *for vpper* Germanie, *by* Guiccardini *for the* Netherlandes, *and by others for other countries hath beene performed) so likewise this our author* Iohn Leo *in the historie ensuing hath so largely, particularly, and methodically deciphered the countries of* Barbarie, Numidia, Libya, The land of Negros, *and the hither part of* Egypt, *as (I take it) neuer any writer either before or since his time hath done. For, if you shall throughly consider him, what kingdome, prouince, citie, towne, village, mountaine, vallie, riuer; yea, what temple, college, hospitall, bath-stoue, Inne; or what other memorable matter doth he omit? So doth he most iudicially describe the temperature of the climate, and the nature of the soile, as also the dispositions, manners, rites, customes, and most ancient pedigrees of the inhabitants, togither with the alterations of religion and estate, the conquests, and ouerthrowes of the* Romaines, Goths, *and* Arabians, *and other things (by the way) right*

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*woorthie the obseruation. So that the* Africans *may iustly say to him, and the* English *to master* Camden, *as the prince of* Roman *oratours did vnto* Marcus Varro *the learnedst of his nation.* Nos in patria nostra peregrinantes errantesque tanquam hospires, tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt, vt possemus aliquando, qui & vbi essemus, agnoscere. Tu ætatem patriæ, tu descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum, & locorum, &c. Tull. Acad. quæst. lib.

*Which may thus be rudely Englished.* Wandring vp and downe like Pilgrimes in our owne natiue soile, thy bookes haue as it were led vs the right way home; that we might at length acknowledge both who and where we are. Thou hast reuealed the antiquitie of our nation, the order of times, the rites of our religion, our manner of gouernment both in peace and warre, yea thou hast described the situation of countries and places, &c.

*Now as concerning the additions before and after this* Geographicall Historie; *hauing had some spare-howers since it came first vnder the presse; I thought good (both for the Readers satisfaction, and that* Iohn Leo *might not appeere too solitarie vpon the stage) to bestowe a part of them in collecting and digesting the same. The chiefe scope of this my enterprize is, to make a briefe and cursorie description of all those maine lands and isles of* Africa, *which mine author in his nine bookes hath omitted. For he in very deed leaueth vntouched all those parts of the* African *continent which lie to the south of the fifteene kingdoms of* Negros, *and to the east of* Nilus. *For the manifestation whereof, I haue (as truely as I could coniecture) in the mappe adioined to this booke, caused a list or border of small prickes to be engrauen; which running westward from the mouth of* Nilus *to* The streights of Gibraltar, *and from thence southward to the coast of* Guinie, *and then eastward to the banks of* Nilus, *and so northward to the place where it began; doth with aduantage*

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*include all places treated of by* Leo, *and excludeth the residue which by way of Preface we haue described before the beginning of his* African *historie. Likewise at the latter end I haue put downe certaine relations of the great Princes of* Africa, *and of the* Christian, Iewish, Mahumetan, *and* Gentilish *religions there professed. The Princes of greatest account either inhabiting or at least possessing large territories there, are first The grand* Neguz *or Christian Emperour of* Abassia *or the higher Ethiopia, commonly called* Presbyter Iohn *or (as* Zagazabo *his owne ambassadour would haue him)* Pretious Iohn ; *but bicause throughout all the* Ethiopick *relation of* Francis Aluarez, *being the best that euer was written of those parts, he is continually named* Prete Ianni, *in imitation of him I also most commonly call him by that name. And so likewise though* Zagazabo[5] *(for the more magnificent reputation of his prince) will haue his dominions called* Ethiopia ; *yet with the consent of some approoued authors, and also to distinguish the country of this emperour from many other regions situate both in the higher* Ethiopia, *and in the lower ; I haue set it downe in my mappe, and in my discourses do most vsually speake thereof vnder the name of* Abassia. *The other great Princes intreated of in the said relations, are* The K. of Spaine, The Turkish Emperour, *The* * Xarifo *otherwise called The* Miramonín *or the king of* Maroco Sus *and* Fez, *and the emperour of* Monomotapa.

The varietie of this emperours names read in a marginall note Pag. of places vndescribed by Iohn Leo.

* Or Xerifo, or serifo.

*My methode in the discourse before* Leo *is after a generall preface of* Africa, *to begin at the* Red sea, *where* Leo *endeth ; and thence (as well in the description of the maine lands, as of the isles by him vntouched) to proceed on southerly to the cape of* Buena esperança ; *from which cape we returne toward the north, describing all along the westerne countries and isles of* Africa, *till we haue brought our whole descriptions to an end vpon the most southwesterly parts of* Barbarie, *where our author* Iohn Leo *beginneth his.*

Et quoniam *(as one faith)* turpe non est, per quos pro-

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seceris, agnoscere: *my principall authors out of whom I haue gathered this store, are, of the ancienter note,* Ptolemey, Strabo, Plinie, Diodorus Siculus, &c. *and amongst later writers, I haue helped my selfe out of sundrie discourses in the first* Italian *volume of* Baptista Ramusio, *as likewise out of* Iohn Barros, Castanneda, Ortelius, Osorius de reb. gest. Eman. Matthew Dresserus, Quadus, Isolario del mundo, Iohn Huighen van Linschoten, *& out of the* Hollanders *late voiages to the* east Indies, *and to* San Tomé: *but I am much more beholding to the history of* Philippo Pigafetta, *to the* Ethiopick *relations of* Francis Aluarez, *& of* Damianus a Goez, *and beyond all comparison (both for matter and method) most of all, to the learned Astronomer and Geographer* Antonius Maginus of Padua, *and to the vniuersall relations written in* Italian *by G. B. B.*

*And heere, before I surcease, I must admonish the Reader of certaine faults escaped in some copies: as namely in the description of the isles in the Barbarian bay,* Açotatado, *for* Açotado; *in a marginall note ouer against the description of Tombuto in the seuenth booke of* Iohn Leo, Money *for* Gold; *in the relation of the Christianitie of Egypt,* Hypostasis *twice togither, in stead of* Hypostases; *and in the discourse of the Christianitie of Congo,* Paulo Aquitino, *for* Panso Aquitimo. *Other literall faults (if there be any) will not be hard for the Reader himselfe to amend.*

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# A generall description of all Africa,

## *togither with a comparison of the ancient and new names of all the principall countries and prouinces therein.*

*Africa otherwise called Libya.*

THat part of inhabited lande extending southward, which we call Africa, and the Greeks Libya, is one of the three generall parts of the world knowen vnto our ancestors; which in very deed was not throughly by them discouered, both bicause the Inlands

*The greater part of Africa vnknowen in former ages.*

coulde not be trauailed in regard of huge deserts full of dangerous sands, which being driuen with the winde, put trauailers in extreme hazard of their liues; and also by reason of the long and perilous nauigation vpon the African coasts, for which cause it was by very few of ancient times compassed by nauigation, much lesse searched or intirely known. Of which few, the principall were *Hanno* a Carthaginian captaine sent by the gouernours of that commonwelth for discouerie of the saide lande, and

*When Africa was sailed round about.*

one *Eudoxus* that fled from *Ptolemæus Lathyrus*, the king of Alexandria. Howbeit in these latter times it hath beene often* by the Portugals sailed round about, and diligently

** And since also by the English, French, and Dutch.*

searched, especially along the shore, euen from the streights of Gibraltar to the enterance of the red sea:* but

** Bartholomew Dias doubled the cape before; but returned fearefully without proceeding any farther.*

the first Portugall that euer doubled the cape of Buena esperança, and coasted the south and southeast parts of Africa, in former times vnknowne, was *Vasco da Gama*, in the yeere 1497, who from hence sailed to Calicut in the east Indies, to the vnspeakeable gaine of the Portugals.

*The etymologie or deriuation of this worde Africa.*

To omit *Iohn Leo* his etymologies of this name Africa;

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*Festus* will haue it to be deriued from the Greeke worde φείκη, which signifieth horror or colde, and from ἄ the particle priuatiue, as who shoulde say, Africa is a place free from all horror and extremitie of colde, bicause it lieth open to the heauens, and is sandie, drie, and desert. Others say that it is called Africa *quasi Aprica*, that is exposed and subiect to the scorching beames of the sunne, the most part thereof lying betweene the Tropicks. *Iosephus* wil haue it so called from *Afer* one of the posteritie of *Abraham*, and others from *Afer* sonne to *Hercules* of Libya. But it was by the Greekes called Libya, bicause it was in old time conquered by *Libs* the king of Mauritania. In the holie Scriptures it is called Chamesis, by the Arabians and Ethiopians Alkebulam, and by the Indians Besecath.

*Why Africa was called Libya.*

In situation & shape this land of Africa is almost an islle, being by a very small and narrowe neckland (passing betweene the Mediterran sea and the gulfe of Arabia, *alias* the red sea) conjoined to Asia, and in extension of ground being almost twise as bigge as Europe, albeit for inhabitants it is not halfe so populous. Wherefore though in longitude from west to east Africa be shorter then Europe in some places, yet extendeth it so farre vnto the south, that Europe in that respect is nothing comparable vnto it: for Africa containeth almost seuentie degrees in latitude, whereas Europe stretcheth but fiue and thirtie degrees: moreouer Africa is more vniforme and spacious; but Europe is of a more distracted and manifolde shape, being in sundry places dispersed & restrained by the sea. Howbeit notwithstanding Africa hath farre greater extension of ground then Europe, yet is it not so populous, nor so commodious to inhabite: for the lande of Africa is in many places vnhabitable; the principall causes whereof are, the scarcitie of water, the barrennes of the soile, being either couered with unprofitable sande, dust, or ashes, or else

*The situation and shape of Africa.*

*A comparison betweene Africa and Europe.*

*The causes why Africa is so slenderly inhabited.*

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*Sandie seas in Africa.*

being subiect to extreme heate of the sunne: also there are certaine dangerous heapes of sande, which being raised by the winde, are driuen vp and downe like the waues of a tempestuous sea: In briefe, there are such abundance of venemous and hurtfull creatures, that for feare of them the land in some places can very hardly, and in others by no meanes be manured or inhabited, be it neuer so fruitfull. Wherefore in diuers parts this region lieth waste and vnpeopled: howbeit where it is inhabited, it is exceeding fertile, and that especially in the north parts thereof, lying ouer against Europe, where (according to the report of many historiographers, and cosmographers) it was in ancient times abundantly furnished with inhabitants: so likewise all the westerne coast betweene Cabo de buena esperança, and Cabo Negro situate about nineteene degrees of southerly latitude, containeth many plaines, hils, vallies, and other places most fruitfull and pleasant, it being there a continuall spring, and elsewhere also it is verie fertile, as it shall be declared more at large in the particular descriptions of each region.

*The position of Africa, according to the heauens.*

The Equinoctiall circle doth in a manner diuide Africa in the verie midst thereof; from whence it stretcheth not onely to each tropique, but also twelue degrees almost beyond them both: wherefore the greater part is comprized betweene the saide Tropiques vnder the Torrid or burnt Zone, for which onely cause the ancient writers supposed it to be vnhabitable and desert in so many places: which indeed is much rather to be ascribed to the waste wildernesse, the barren and sandie soile, and the scarcitie of waters and fountaines. It comprehendeth therefore fully and perfectly the three first northerly climates, and so many and the like climates southerly; for it is situate betweene the eleuenth north Parallele, and the eleuenth Antiparallele, or south Parallele, both which are equally distant from the Equinoctiall on either

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side. But about either of the foresaid extremes, the longest day consisteth of fowerteene howers and one fourth part, and about the midst, of twelue howers exactly. Likewise as touching the longitude, Africa stretcheth from the Meridian vnder fower degrees to the Meridian vnder fower-score and two degrees of longitude, to wit, from Cabo Roxo, or the Red cape on the west, to Cape Guardafu on the east side, betweene which two capes is the greatest bredth of Africa.

*The boundes of Africa.*

Africa hath too narrowe boundes allotted vnto it by *Iohn Leo* and certaine others, for they disioine the greater part of Egypt and all Ethiopia there from. Wherefore it is more conuenient in this behalfe to follow *Ptolemey*, and the late writers, limiting the same on the north with the Mediterran sea, and the streights of Gibraltar; on the east with the Red sea or the Arabian gulfe, and the small neckland of Asia passing betweene the Mediterran sea, and the said gulfe; on the south (at the cape of Buena esperança, where it endeth in forme of a wedge) with the maine Ocean partly called the Ethiopian sea, as being neere vnto the land of Ethiopia; and on the west, from the hither side of the Equinoctiall line, with the Atlantike Ocean, (called by *Ptolemey Mare Occiduum*, by *Dionysius Hesperium*, and part thereof by the Spaniards Mar del Norte) but beyond the Equinoctiall line it is bounded westward with the Ethiopian sea.

*The mountaines of Africa.*

*Mount Atlas.*

Africa hath very many and most exceeding great mountaines, the principal whereof is Mount Atlas, whose tops of incredible height rising out of the midst of sandy desertes, exalt themselues aboue the cloudes. This mountaine beginneth westward at that place, where it distinguisheth the Ocean by the name of Atlanticus: from whence by a perpetuall ridge, after many windings and turnings, it extendeth east toward the confines of Egypt: moreouer it is in most places rounde, hard to

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ascend, craggie, steepe, impassable, cold, barren, shadie, and euery where full of woods and fountaines, with cloudes alwaies houering about the tops thereof, being forlorn and desolate toward the Ocean, but ouer against* Africa minor, most fertile, and abounding with plentie of corne and of thick woods which are clad with a kinde of mosse no whit inferior to silke.

* *The prouinces of Temizen, Alger, Bugia, Constantina, and Tunis.*

The tops of this mountaine are couered with deepe snowes euen in the midst of sommer: and sometimes when the North winds blow any thing sharpe, the snow falleth in such abundance, that it hideth the trees growing vpon the sides thereof, and is deadly both to man and beast.

*Extreme cold fountaines.*

Moreouer the fountaines which are here found, are so extreame cold in the hottest of sommer, as if a man should dip his hand therein but for a short space, it would loose both life, sence, and motion. Besides Mount Atlas those mountaines likewise are very famous, which being situate on the south part of Africa, are called by the Portugales Os Picosfragosos:[6] for by reason of their surpassing height and craggie cliffes it is impossible to skale them, and they are bare, forlorne, and destitute of all reliefe.

*Mountaines called Os Picos fragosos: that is to say, sharpe pointed. Iohn Barros: Dec. 1. lib. 8, cap. 4.*

Likewise the cape commonly called Sierra Leona is as it were framed out of an exceeding high mountaine, which may be kenned a mightie distance off: the top of this mountaine is continuallie ouershadowed with cloudes, which often send forth dreadfull thunder and lightening: whereupon some think it to haue bin called by Ptolemey, and by Hanno of Carthage, The chariot of the gods.[7]

*Lunæ montes.*

The mountaines of the moone also, knowen of old, and situate vnder the Tropique of Capricorne, being very high and craggie, are inhabited by barbarous and sauage people nere vnto which are valleis of such exceeding depth, as if they reached to the center of the earth.[8] Likewise there are certain mountaines in Angola called Cabambe containing most rich siluer-mines, &c.

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Also in Africa are certaine mightie lakes, which for their extension seem rather to be seas, the principal whereof called by some Zembre, being situate by a number of huge mountaines, and distant from the Equinoctial eleuen or twelue degrees to the south, containeth about fiue hundred leagues in compasse out of which lake doe spring the famous riuers of Nilus, Zaire, and Cuama, and some affirme very strange sea-monsters to be therein.[9] *The lake of Zembre, which by some others is placed vnder the Equinoctiall.*

Africa likewise hath many exceeding great riuers, as namely Nilus, Niger, Senaga, Gambra, Zaire, Abagni, Tagassi, Coluez, Coauo, Cuama, and Maniche, or Rio del spirito santo, all which are in a manner of the same qualitie and disposition; for with their yeerlie inundations they doe most wonderfullie fatten and enrich the soile of the territories adioyning. Nilus the most famous riuer of the world, diuiding Egypt in the midst, and with his ouerflowes making it most fruitefull, continueth in his yeerely increase fortie daies, and forty daies in decrease; to wit, from the seuenteenth of Iune to the sixt of October: and this riuer after a mightie long course through Ethiopia and Egypt, dischargeth his streames into the Mediterran sea. The riuer of Niger, running through the land of Negros, called of old (as Solinus supposed) by the naturall inhabitants Astabus, and (according to Marmolius) Hued Nijar in the Arabian toung, is now esteemed by Paulus Iouius to be Gambra, and by Cadamosta the riuer of Senega; but that both of them are deceiued, it is euident out of the description of Sanutus, who putteth downe the two foresaid riuers seuerallie, and thinketh Niger to be that which is now called Rio grande. This riuer taketh his beginning, as some thinke, out of a certain desert to the east, called Seu, or springeth rather out of a lake, and after a long race, falleth at length into the western Ocean. It increaseth also, for the space of fortie daies like Nilus, and is for so long space decreasing about the verie same *The riuers Africa.* *Nilus.* *Niger.*



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time; by which inundation it bringeth such fruitfulness vnto all the land of Negros (certain mountaines onely excepted) as no place in the world can be imagined more fertile. Senaga or Canaga, a most notable riuer, called, as some thinke, Baratis by Ptolemey, and for the length thereof, and manifold strange creatures therein contained, comparable to Nilus, seuereth by his winding chanel the barren and naked soile, from the greene and fruitefull. Moreouer it maketh a separation betweene nations of sundrie colours: for the people on this side are of a dead ash-colour, leane, and of a small stature; but on the farther side they are exceeding blacke, of tall and manly stature, and very well proportioned: howbeit neere vnto the riuer on either side, they are of a meane colour, complexion, and stature betweene both the aboue mentioned. It falleth into the sea by two mouthes, the principall whereof is about a mile broad, vp into the which the sea entreth almost 60 miles. It springeth (according to *John Barros*) out of two lakes (the greater whereof is now called the lake of Gaoga, but heretofore by *Ptolemey Chelonidæ paludes*, and the lesser *Ptolemey* calleth *Nubæpalus*) as also out of a riuer named by *Ptolemey* Ghir. This riuer of Senaga hath great variety of strange fishes, and other creatures that liue in the water, as namely, sea-horses, crocodiles, winged serpents, and such like: neere vnto it also are great store of Elephants, wilde bores, lyons, and leopards. Gambra or Gambea a very great riuer, lying betweene Senaga and Niger, and esteemed by *Sanutus* to be that which *Ptolemey* called Stachir, fetcheth his originall from the lake of Libya, and from the fountaines which *Ptolemey* assigneth to the riuer of Niger: this riuer in greatnes and depth exceedeth Senaga, and hath many vnknowne riuers falling thereinto, and bringeth foorth all kindes of liuing creatures that Senaga doth. In the midst of this riuer standeth the Isle of Elephants, so called, in

*These two riuers of Senaga and Gambra are not certainly known, whether they be maine riuers of themselves, or branches and mouthes of Niger.*

*The isle of Elephants.*

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regarde of great numbers of those beasts. The riuer Zaire beginneth out of the same lake from whence Nilus springeth: this being one of the greatest riuers of all Africa, and vtterly vnknowne vnto ancient writers, containeth at the mouth eight and twentie miles in bredth, hauing a very safe harbour for ships to ride in: also there are many and great Islands in the chanell thereof, and sundrie riuers do fall thereinto, the principall whereof are Vumba, Barbela, Coanza, and Lelunda: in briefe, this riuer Zaire running through the kingdome of Congo, disgorgeth it selfe into the maine Ethiopian sea. Out of same lake, which is the very fountaine of Nilus, springeth another notable and famous riuer, which after a long race toward the south and east, is diuided into two branches: the northerly branch, which is exceeding great (for it receiueth sixe great riuers thereinto, and is nauigable for the space of seuen hundred miles) being properly called Cuama, and the other branch more southerly, which is verie great also, being named Manich or Magnice, or Rio del spirito Santo.[10]

*These two riuers of Cuamæ and Magnice (according to Philippo Pigafetta) spring both out of the great lake and are not branches of one riuer.*

The promontories, capes, or headlands of Africa be verie many, the most famous and principal wherof are, The cape of Buena esperança, or good hope, Cabo verde, and Cabo de los corrientes. The cape of Buena esperança or good hope is the extreame southerly point of all Africa, being a most renowned and dangerous promontorie, which in the yeere one thousand foure hundred ninetie seuen was the second time discouered by Vasco da Gama at the commandement of Don Emanuel king of Portugal: this cape the mariners were woont to cal the lion of the Ocean, and the tempestuous cape, by reason of the russling and roring of the windes, which they found there for the most part very boisterous: for the sea thereabout is exceeding rough, by reason of the continual fury of the windes; neither will any nauigatours touch vpon the cape, except

*The promontories or capes of Africa. Cabo de buena esperanza.*



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*Cabo verde.* they be enforced by meere necessitie. Cabo verde or The greene head-land, is esteemed by some to be the same which *Ptolemey* calleth *Promontorium Arfinarium*, & is compassed on either side by the riuers of Senega and Gambra. Cabo de los corrientes, otherwise called the cape of San Sebastian, stretcheth foorth it selfe right ouer against the south ende of the great Isle of Madagascar: it is a cape well knowne, by reason it is so dangerous to double, which the Moores durst not passe for a very long time.

*Cabo de los corrientes.*

And heere as concerning the strange beasts, fishes, serpents, trees, plants, and roots of Africa, as likewise touching the diseases, whereto the African people are most subiect; and the varietie of languages (excepting the Chaldæan, Egyptian, Turkish, Italian, and Spanish toongs) which are now and haue beene of ancient times spoken in Africa; I refer the Reader to the first and last bookes of *Iohn Leo*, and to other places, where they are at large and purposely intreated of.

*The inhabitants of Africa.* Moreouer this part of the worlde is inhabited especially by fiue principall nations, to wit, by the people called Cafri or Cafates, that is to say outlawes, or lawlesse, by the Abassins, the Egyptians, the Arabians, and the Africans or Moores, properly so called; which last are of two kinds, namely white or tawnie Moores, and Negros or blacke Moores. Of all which nations some are Gentiles which worship Idols; others of the sect of Mahumet; some others Christians; and some Iewish in religion; the greatest part of which people are thought to be descended from *Cham* the cursed sun of *Noah*; except some Arabians of the linage of *Sem*, which afterward passed into Africa. Now the Arabians inhabiting Africa are diuided into many seuerall kinds, possessing diuers and sundrie habitations and regions; for some dwell neere the sea shore, which retaine the name of Arabians; but others inhabiting the

*The diuersitie of religions in Africa.*

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inland, are called Baduini. There bee likewise infinite swarmes of Arabians, which with their wiues and children, leade a vagrant and roguish life in the deserts, vsing tents in stead of houses: these are notable theeues, and very troublesome both to their neighbour-inhabitants, and also to merchants: for which cause trauellers and merchants dare not passe ouer the African deserts alone, but onely in Carouans, which are great companies of merchants riding, and transporting their goods vpon their camels and asses: who go very strong, and in great numbers, for feare of the said theeuish Arabians.

Arabians

*Ptolemey* in his fourth booke of Geography diuideth Africa into twelue regions or prouinces: namely, Mauritania Tingitana, Mauritania Cæsariensis, Numidia, Africa propria, Cyrenaica, Marmarica, Libya propria, AEgyptus superior, AEgyptus inferior, Libya interior, AEthiopia sub AEgypto, & AEthiopia interior.

*The ancient diuision of Africa by Ptolemey; and a comparison of the ancient with the moderne names.*

Mauritania Tingitana, the most rich and beautifull countrey of Africa, so named of the citie Tingis, which we at this day call Tanger, was sometimes also (as *Plinie* witnesseth) called Borgundiana: moreouer others haue called it by the names of Mauritania Sitiphensis, Hispania Transfretana, and Hispania Tingitana: but *Solinus* termeth the same Mauritania inferior. The inhabitants were of old named by the Græcians Maurusij, and by the Romaines Mauri, but the Spaniards at this present terme them Alarabes.[11] In this part of Africa are now contained two stately kingdomes, namely the kingdome of Maroco, and the kingdome of Fez; both which are enuironed with the mountaines of Atlas, the Ocean and the Mediterran seas, and to the east with the riuer of Muluia.

*Mauritania Tingitana, being all one with the kingdomes of Maroco and Fez.*

Mauritania Cæsariensis, named according to the citie of Cæsaria, which was so called after the name of *Claudius Cæsar*, at this present bearing the name of Tiguident or Tegdemt, which worde in the Arabian toong signifieth

*Mauritania Cæsariensis called at this present Tremizen, and Alger.*

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ancient; was by *Victor Vticensis*, termed Mauritania maior; by *Strabo* Massilia, and Massæsilia, and the inhabitants thereof by *Plinie* Massæsuli. At this present it containeth the kingdome of Tremizen, as *Dominias Niger*, and *Giraua* are of opinion.

*Numidia the ancient, contayning Bugia, Constantina, Bona, Mezzab, &c.*

Numidia the ancient, called in the time of *Ptolomey*, The new, but by the Greekes (as *Plinie* testifieth) Metagonitis, and the inhabitants thereof Numidæ, and Nomades; is that region which lieth betweene The great riuer, and the riuer Megerada, ouer which countrey king *Masinissa* bare rule. It containeth now (as I coniecture) the prouinces of Bugia, Constantina, Bona, and Mezzab. Howbeit at this present we vnderstande by Numidia that region which lieth betweene the mountaines of Atlas and the Libyan deserts, called by *Iohn Leo* and *Marmolius* Biledulgerid, or the lande of Dates, bicause this is the onely region for plentie of Dates, in all Africa.

*Africa propria all one with the kingdome of Tunis.*

Africa propria, situate vpon the Mediterran sea, betweene the regions of old Numidia, and the Cyrene, is called by *Plinie* Zeugitania, who diuideth it into the ancient and the new. At this present it is the kingdome of Tunis, for it containeth Byzacium, which by *Strabo* is accounted a part of Africa propria. The head of this prouince in times past was Carthage, whereof at this present there are nothing but ruines extant.

*Cyrene now called Mesrata.*

Cyrene, or Cyrenaica, by *Plinie* called Pentapolis, and by the Hebrews Lebahim, is esteemed by *Giraua* to be at this present called Corene, and by *Andrew Theuet*, Assadib: but *Iohn Leo* and *Marmolius* name it Mesrata.

*Marmarica comprehended in the desert of Barcha.*

Marmarica is called by *Plinie* Mareotis, and Libya: howbeit at this present the desert of Barcha, described by *Iohn Leo* in his sixt booke, containeth a great part of Cyrenaica, and all Marmarica.

*Libya propria, called Sarra.*

But Libya propria, retaineth till this present the name

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of Libya, and is that part which the Arabians call Sarra, which worde signifieth a desert.

Both the ancient Ethiopias are now possessed by the Abassins, vnder the dominion of *Prete Ianni.* *AEthiopia, now called Abassia.*

Egypt retaineth euen till this day, the ancient name.

The best moderne diuision of Africa, for these our times is to adde vnto the foure general partes, Barbaria, Numidia, Libya, and the land of Negros, set downe by Iohn Leo, three other generall partes to wit, Egypt; the inner or the vpper Ethiopia, containing Troglodytica, Nubia, and the empire of Prete Ianni; and the lower, or the extreme Ethiopia, stretching from the said empire along the sea-coast, and through the Inland euen to the Cape of Buena Esperança.

Thus much of Africa in generall. Now it remaineth that we briefly describe in particular all the principall maine landes, and islands, (vndescribed by *Iohn Leo*) which thereto belong, or adioyne; beginning first with the Red sea one of the chiefe limites of Africa, and from thence shaping our course along the easterne or farthest quarters thereof, through the dominions of *Prete Ianni*, the lande of Zanguebar, the empires of Mohenemuge, and Monomotapa, and the region of Cafraria: and then, hauing doubled the cape of Buena esperança, range we along the westerne partes by the kingdomes of Angola, Congo, Anzichi, Benin, Ghinea, and by the capes of Sierra Leona, Capo verde, and the castle of Arguin, till we haue brought our selues to finish our course, vpon the most southwesterne partes of Barbarie, from whence our author *Iohn Leo* beginneth his.

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## A particular description of all the knowne borders, coastes and inlands of Africa, which Iohn Leo hath left vndescribed: collected out of sundry ancient and late writers.

### *Of the red sea.*

THe red sea called by others the Arabian gulfe, and the streight of Mecha, containing in length twelue hundred miles, and in bredth but one hundred, is deuided into three partitions or chanels; the middlemost whereof being called The large or deepe sea, is without danger nauigable both day and night, because it hath from fiue and twentie to fiftie fathomes water, especially from the isle of Camaran euen to Suez stāding at the very bottome of the gulfe: the other two partitions, which are the easterne and westerne extremities, are incumbred with so manie little isles and rocks, as it is impossible to saile ouer them but onely by day-light, and with most expert pilots, which are to be hired at a small island lying ouerthwart the very mouth or entrance of the red sea; which the ancient kings of Egypt (if the report of *Strabo* be true) barred with a chaine, from the African, to the Arabian side.[12] This sea is very skarce of fish; perhaps because there fall no riuers thereinto, which with their fresh and sweete waters doe much delight and nourish the fish; and the strand or shore thereof is destitute of all greene grasse, herbes, or weedes. The portes and hauens of this sea are for the most part very dangerous and difficult to enter, by reason of the manifold windings and turnings, which must be made, to auoide the rockes.

*This isle I take to be Babel-mandel.*

*Suez called of olde Heroum ciuitas, and Hazion Geber.*

At the very head or North end of this gulfe, standeth Suez, which heretofore seemeth to haue bin called Ciuitas Heroum, and in the times of *Dauid* and *Salomon* Hazion-

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Geber, from whence the fleetes of those partes were sent to Ophir for golde and other rich commodities. Vnder the Egyptian Ptolemeys and the Romans, this towne flourished exceedingly, by reason of the infinite quantitie of merchandize brought thither from the east Indies, and Arabia. But now it is nothing so frequented; partly in regard of the mighty concurse and traffique which Mecha draweth vnto it selfe, and partly by reason of the Portugales conueiance of spices and other Indian commodities about the cape of Buena esperança. At this present the great Turke hath there an Arsenale, with certaine gallies, for feare of the Portugals aforesaid: against whome there haue bin dispatched from this place two greate fleetes, one for the assailing of Diu, and another for Ormuz. Howbeit because all the countries round about are vtterly destitute of wood, it is a matter of infinite charge to furnish foorth a fleete from hence; for they are constrained to fetch their timber as far as Caramania, partly by sea, and partly vpon camels backs. At this towne of Suez they haue no fresh water; but all their water is brought them from a place sixe miles distant vpon camels backs, being notwithstanding brackish and bitter.

*Arsenale signifieth a storehouse for munition, and for all necessaries to build, repaire, and furnish a fleet.*

The western shore of the Red sea is inhabited with people called in old time Troglodytæ, which at this present do all of them yeelde obedience to the great Turke: who considering, that the fleets of the Portugales entered very often into the Red sea, and were there receiued by the subiects of Prete Gianni, and did him great domage; hath thereupon taken occasion not onely to conquer the Troglodytæ, but also to wast and subdue a great part of Barnagasso, the most Northerlie prouince of the said Prete. So that the audacious attempts of the Portugales in those parts haue bred two most dangerous and bad effects; the one is, that the Arabians haue most

*Troglodytæ were a people that liued in caues vnder the earth to auoide the extrem heat, being deriued* ἀπο τȣ̃ τρώγλας ἱποδεδυκέναι.

*A great part of Barnagasso subdued by the Turke.*

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strongly fortified all their sea-townes, which before lay naked and without fortification; the other, for that the Turke also hath bin occasioned thereby to make warre against the Prete. Wherefore they ought not to haue vndertaken any such enterprise, but with full resolution and sufficient forces to accomplish the same: for lesser attempts serue to no other end, but onely to rouze and arme the enimie, which was before secure and quiet.

Neither is it heere to be omitted, that in the foresaide sea, a man can saile in no ships or barks, but only those of the great Turke, or at least with his licence, paying vnto him for tribute a good part of the fraight. For this purpose he hath certaine Magazines or store-houses of timber, which is brought partly from the gulfe of Satalia, and partly from Nicomedia, and other places vpon the Euxin sea, vnto Rosetto and Alexandria; from whence it is afterward transported to Cairo, and thence to Suez.

This sea is called the Red sea, not in regard that the waters thereof be all red, but (as some thinke) from certaine red rushes which growe vpon the shore: and (as others are of opinion) from a kinde of red earth which in sundry places it hath at the bottome: which earth dieth not the very substance of the water red, but by transparence causeth it (especially neere the shore) to appeere of that colour.

### *Africa Troglodytica.*

THat sandie, barren, and desert part of Africa which lieth betweene Nilus and the Red sea, especially to the south of the tropike, was in old times inhabited by the Troglodytæ,[13] a people so called, bicause of their dwelling in caues vnder the ground. Along this westerne coast of the Red sea runneth a ridge of mountaines, which being an occasion that the inland riuers can not fall into the saide sea, they are forced to discharge themselues into Nilus.

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The foresaide mountaines and sea coast are now inhabited by Mahumetans, being partly Arabians, and partly Turkes: which not many yeeres ago haue attempted to saile that sea, and to inuade the regions adioining. The naturall inhabitants are a rude barbarous people, and very poore and beggerly. The chiefe places of habitation are Corondol,[14] a speciall good porte; Alcosser[15] a place well knowne, bicause that neere vnto it the saide mountaines open themselues, and giue passage to the bringing in of the fruits and commodities of Abassia; Suachen[16] esteemed one of the principall ports in all the streights, and being made by an island. Here resideth the Bassa of the great Turke, which is called the gouenour of Abassia, with three thousand soldiers or thereabout.

Next followeth Ercoco[17] the onely hauen towne of the *Prete*, lying ouer against the little isle of Mazua:[18] and heere the mountaines make an other opening or passage, for transporting of victuals out of the lande of the saide *Prete Ianni*. From hence almost to the very entrance of the Red sea, the coast is at this present vninhabited, forlorne, and desert. Likewise from Suachen to Mazua is a continuall woode, the trees whereof are but of small woorth. Iust within the saide entrance standeth the towne and port of Vela,[19] vnder the iurisdiction of the king of Dancali a Moore.

Vpon all this west shore of the Red sea, as likewise vpon the contrary east shore, scarcitie of water is the cause, why there are so fewe, and so small places of habitation; and the people runne and flocke togither, where they may finde any pit or fountaine of water.

Some curious reader might here expect, because I haue nowe passed so neere the frontiers of Egypt, that I should make an exact description of that most famous and fruitefull prouince, and likewise of the great city of Alcair,[20] and of the inundation and decrease of Nilus: all which, because

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they are expressed in most orient and liuelie colours by our author *Iohn Leo;* I should shew my selfe both iniurious to him, and tedious to all iudiciall readers, in anticipating and forestalling that, before the beginning of his booke, which he so neere the end doth in such large and particular wise intreate of. Now therefore let vs proceed to the vpper or inner Ethiopia, beginning with the first and most northerly prouince thereof called Nubia.

## *Nubia.*

PAssing therefore westward from the Island of Siene, you enter into the prouince of Nubia, bordering on the west vpon Gaoga,[21] eastward vpon the riuer Nilus, towards the North, vpon Egypt, and southward vpon the desert of Goran.[22] The inhabitants thereof called by *Strabo* Νῆϛαι, liue at this present (as *Francisco Aluarez* reporteth) a most miserable and wretched kinde of life; for hauing lost the sinceritie and light of the gospel, they do embrace infinite corruptions of the Iewish and Mahumetan religions. At the same time when the foresaid *Aluarez* was in Abassia, there came certaine messengers out of Nubia, to make suit vnto the *Prete*, that he would send them priests, and such persons as might preach and administer the sacraments vnto them. But he returned answere, that he could not in regard of the scarcitie of great clergie-men in his dominions: The said messengers reported, that the Nubians had sent often to Rome for a bishop; but being afterward by the inuasions of the Moores and the calamitie of warre, cut short of that assistance, they fell for want of teachers and ministers, into extreme ignorance of Christian religion, and by little and little were infected with the impious and abominable sects of the Iewes and Mahumetans. Some Portugals trauailing to those parts, sawe many churches destroied by the handes of the Arabians, and in some

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places the pictures of saints painted vpon the wals. They are gouerned by women, and call their Queene *Gaua*. Their principall citie called Dangala, and consisting of about ten thousand housholds, is a place of great traffike, bicause it is so neere vnto Egypt and the riuer Nilus. All their other habitations are villages and base cottages. Their houses are built of claie, and couered with strawe. The chiefe commodities of this region are rice, stone-sugar, sanders,[23] iuorie (for they take many elephants) as likewise abundance of ciuet, and golde in great plentie. The countrey is for the most part sandie: howbeit there are certaine mightie lakes, by the benefite whereof a great part of Nubia is watred and made fruitfull.

*Dangala the head citie of Nubia.*

## *The Isle of Meroe.*

MEroe called at this time by the names of Guengare, Amara, and Nobe, being the greatest and fairest isle which Nilus maketh, and resembled by *Herodotus* to the shape of a target, containeth in bredth a thousand, and in length three thousand stadios or furlongs. It aboundeth with golde, siluer, copper, iron, Eben-wood, palme-trees, and other such commodities as are in Nubia. Some write, that there growe canes or reeds of so huge a bignes, that the people make botes of them. Heere also you haue minerall salt, and lions, elephants, and leopards. This island is inhabited by Mahumetans, who are confederate with the Moores against *Prete Ianni*. *Strabo* affirmeth, that in old time the authoritie of the priests of this island was so great, that by a meane and ordinarie messenger they woulde command the king to murther himselfe, and woulde substitute an other in his roome. But at length, one king hauing in a certaine temple put all the saide priests to death, quite abolished that monstrous custome. And heere as Nilus vnfoldeth himselfe into two branches,

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to embrace this Islande, he receiueth from the east the riuer of Abagni, and from the west the riuer Sarabotto, which haue likewise other smaller riuers falling into them. The Abassins are of opinion, that the Queene of Saba, which trauelled so farre to heare the wisdome of *Salomon*, was mistresse of this isle. *Paulus Ionius* saith, here are three kings, one a Gentile, the second a Moore, and the third a Christian, subiect vnto the *Prete*. From Meroe to Siene it is accounted fifteene daies iourney by water.

## * *Abassia, or the empire of* Prete Ianni.

* *Or AEthopia the higher.*

* *Commonly called in Latine writers, Presbiter Iohannes, by the Moores Asiclabassi. and by the Abassins his owne subiects Acegue, that is, Emperour, & Negus which importeth a king, and Belul also, being all one with Encoe in the Chaldean toong, both wordes signifie precious or high.*

THe Abassins are a people subiect to* *Prete Ianni:* whose empire (if we consider the stile which he vseth in his letters) hath most ample confines. For he intituleth himselfe emperour of the great and higher Ethiopia, king of Goiame,[24] which (as *Botera* supposeth) is situate betweene Nilus and Zaire; of Vangue a kingdome beyond Zaire; of Damut which confineth with the land of the Anzichi;[25] and towards the south he is called king of Cafate and Bagamidri, two prouinces bordering vpon the first great lake, which is the originall fountaine of Nilus; as likewise of the kingdomes of Xoa, Fatigar, Angote, Baru, Baaliganze, Adea, Amara, Ambea, Vague, Tigremahon, Sabaim, where the Queene of Saba gouerned, and lastly of* Barnagaes, and lorde as farre as Nubia, which bordereth vpon Egypt. But at this present the center or midst of his Empire (as *Iohn Barros* writeth) is the lake of Barcena.[26] For it extendeth eastward towarde the Red sea, as farre as Suaquen, the space of two hundred twentie and two leagues. Howbeit betweene the sea and his dominions runneth a ridge of mountaines inhabited by Moores, who are masters of al the sea-coast along, except the porte of Ercoco, which belongeth to the *Prete*. And likewise on the west, his empire is restrained by another

* *Or Barnagasso.*

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mountainous ridge stretching along the riuer of Nilus, where are founde most rich mines of golde; amongst which are the mines of Damut and of Sinassij, wholie in the possession of Gentiles which pay tribute vnto the *Prete*. Northward it is bounded by an imaginarie line supposed to be drawen from Suachen to the beginning of the isle Meroe aboue mentioned; which line extendeth an hundred and fiue and twentie leagues. From thence the Abassin borders trend south somewhat crookedly in manner of abowe, as farre as the kingdome of Adea (from the mountaines whereof springeth a riuer called by *Ptolemey** Raptus which falleth into the sea about Melinde) for the space of two hundred and fiftie nine leagues; next vnto the which borders, inhabite certaine Gentiles of blacke colour, with curled haire. And heere the saide empire is limited by the kingdome of Adel, the head citie whereof called Arar, standeth in the latitude nine degrees. So that all this great empire may containe in compasse sixe hundred threescore and two leagues, little more or lesse. It is refreshed and watered by two mightie riuers which conuey their streames into Nilus, called by *Ptolemey* Astaboras and Astapus, and by the naturall inhabitants Abagni and Tagassi; the first whereof taketh his originall from the lake of Barcena, and the second from the lake of Colue. Barcena lieth in seuen degrees of north latitude; & Colue vnder the verie Equinoctiall. The first (besides Abagni) ingendereth also the riuer of Zeila: and the second (besides Tagassi) giueth effence to the riuer of Quilimanci Between Abagni and the Red sea lieth the prouince of Barnagasso: betweene Abagni and Tagassi are the kingdomes of Angote and Fatigar; and more towards the * bay of Barbarians,[27] the prouinces of Adea and of Baru: and somewhat lower, that of Amara. In briefe, beyond the riuer of Tagassi ly the regions of Bileguanzi, and of Tigremahon.

The Abassins haue no great knowledge of Nilus by

*Most rich gold mines.*

* *And by the late writers Quilimanci.*

* *Sinus Barbaricus, a mightie gulfe on the backeside of Africa, stretching (as some will haue it) from 4. degrees of northerly to 17. of southerly latitude.*

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reason of the mountaines which deuide them from it; for which cause they call Abagni the father of riuers. Howbeit they say that vpon Nilus do inhabite two great and populous nations; one of Iewes towards the west, vnder the gouernment of a mightie king; the other more southerly, consisting of Amazones or warlike women; whereof wee will speake more at large in our relation of Monomotapa.

Throughout all the dominion of the *Prete* there is not any one city of importance, either for multitude of inhabitantes, for magnificent buildings, or for any other respect. For the greatest townes there, containe not aboue two thousand housholds; the houses being (cottage-like) reared vp with clay and couered with straw, or such like base matter. Also *Ptolemey* intreating of these partes, maketh mention but of three or foure cities onely, which he appointeth to the south of the Isle Meroe. Howbeit in some places vpon the frontiers of Abassia there are certaine townes verie fairely built, and much frequented for traffique. The Portugales in their trauailes throughout the empire haue often declared vnto the Abassins, how much better it were, for auoiding of the outragious iniuries and losses daily inflicted by the Moores and Mahumetans both vpon their goods and persons, if the emperour would build cities and castles stronglie walled and fortified. Whereunto they made answere, that the power of their Neguz, or emperour, consisted not in stone-walles, but in the armes of his people. They vse not ordinarily any lime or stone, but onely for the building of churches (saying, that so it becommeth vs to make a difference between the houses of men, and churches dedicated to God) and of their Beteneguz or houses of the emperour, wherein the gouernours of prouinces are placed to execute iustice. These Beteneguz stand continually open, and yet in the gouernours absence no man dare enter into them, vnder paine of being punished as a traytour. Moreouer in the city of Axuma (esteemed

*Of these Beteneguz read Francis Aluares, cap. 42.*

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by them to haue beene the seate of the Queene of *Saba*) stand certaine ruinous buildings like vnto pyramides; which by reason of their greatnes, remaine euen til this present, notwithstanding their many yeeres antiquitie. Likewise there are in this countrie diuers churches and oratories hewen out of the hard rocke, consisting but of one onely stone, some sixtie, some fortie, and some thirtie* fathomes long, being full of windowes, and engrauen with strange and vnknowne characters. Three such churches there are of twelue* fathomes broade and eightie in length.

* *Or yardes: Braccia signifieth both.*

The Abassins which are subject to the *Prete*, hold opinion, that their prince deriueth his petigree from *Melich* the sonne of *Salomon*, which (as they say) he begot of the Queene of *Saba;* and that themselues are descended from the officers and attendants which *Salomon* appointed vnto this his sonne when he sent him home vnto his mother: which seemeth not altogether vnlikely, if you consider the Iewish ceremonies of circumcision, obseruing of the sabaoth, & such like, which they vse vntill this present: likewise they abhorre swines flesh and certaine other meates, which they call vncleane. The *Prete* absolutely gouerneth in all matters, except it be in administring of the sacraments, and ordaining of priests. Hee giueth and taketh away benefices at his pleasure; and in punishing offenders, maketh no difference betweene his clergie and laitie. The administration of their sacraments is wholie referred to the Abuna or Patriarke. The *Prete* is lorde and owner of all the lands and possessions in his empire, except those of the church; which are in number infinite; for the monasteries of saint *Antonie* (besides which there are none of any other order) and the colleges of the Canons and of the Hermites, togither with the parishes, are innumerable. They are all prouided by the king, both of reuenewes and of ornaments.

*Of Melich read more at large in Francisco Aluarez, cap. 37.: and cap. 138.*

They haue two winters and two summers; which they



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discerne not by colde and heate, but by rainie and faire weather. They begin their yeere vpon the 26. of August, and diuide it into twelue moneths, each moneth containing thirtie daies, whereunto they adde euery common yeere fiue daies, and in the leape yeere sixe, which odde daies they call Pagomen, that is, The end of the yeere. Their ordinarie iourneies in trauelling are twelue miles a day. The common harlots dwell without their townes, and haue wages allowed them out of the common purse: neither may they enter into any cities, nor apparell themselues, but only in yellow.

The soil of Abassia aboundeth generally with graine, and in especiall with barly and all kindes of Pulse, but not so much with wheate; they haue sugar likewise (not knowing how to refine it) and hony, and cotton-wooll, orenges, cedars, and limons, grow naturally there. They haue neither melons, citrons, nor rape-roots: but many plants & herbes different from ours. Their drinke is made of barley and millet: neither haue they any wine made of grapes, but onely in the houses of the emperour, and the* Abuna. They are not destitute of Elephants, mules, lions, tygres, ounces, and deere. Their owne countrey horses are but of a small size: howbeit they haue also of the Arabian and the Egyptian breed, the coltes whereof within fower daies after they be foled, they vse to suckle with kine. They haue great and terrible apes; and infinite sorts of birds; but neither cuckowes nor Pies, so farre as euer could bee learned. Heere are likewise great store of mines of gold, siluer, iron, and copper; but they know not how to digge and refine the same: for the people of this countrey are so rude and ignorant, that they haue no knowledge nor vse of any arte or occupation. Insomuch as they esteeme the carpenters or smithes craft for an vnlawfull and diabolicall kinde of science; and such as exercise the same, liue among them like infamous persons; neither

* *Patriarke.*

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are they permitted to enter into any of their churches. In the kingdome of Bagamidri are founde most excellent mines of siluer, which they knowe none other way how to take from the ore, but onely by melting it with fire into thinne plates. Goiame aboundeth with base gold. In the kingdome of Damut they digge and refine it somewhat better. They haue neither the arte of making cloth (for which cause the greater part of them go clad in beasts skins) nor yet the manner of hauking, fowling, or hunting; so that their countries swarme with partridges, quailes, fesants, cranes, geese, hens, hares, deere, and other like creatures: neither knowe they how to make any full vse or benefite of the fruitefulnes of their countrey, nor of the commoditie of riuers. They sowe mill for the most parte, sometimes in one place, and sometimes in another, according as the raine giueth them opportunitie. In summe, they shew no wit nor dexterity in any thing so much as in robbery and warre; vnto both which they haue a kind of naturall inclination. Which is occasioned (as I suppose) by the continuall voiages made by the *Prete*, and by their vsuall liuing in the wide fields, and that in diuers and sundry places. For to trauaile continually, and remaine in the fields without any stable or firme habitation, compelleth men as it were, of necessitie, to lay holde on all that comes next to hande, be it their owne, or belonging to others.

They are much subiect to tempests; but to an inconuenience far more intollerable, namely to innumerable swarmes of locusts, which bring such desolation vpon them, as is most dreadfull to consider: for they consume whole prouinces, leauing them quite destitute of succour both for man and beast. They vse no stamped coine in all this empire, but insteede thereof certaine rude pieces of golde, and little balls of iron, especially in Angote; as likewise salt and pepper, which are the greatest riches that they can enioy.



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Hence it is, that the tributes which are payed to the prince, consist onely of such things as his owne dominions do naturally afforde; as namely of salt, gold, siluer, corne, hides, elephants teeth, the horne of the Rhinoceros, with slaues, and such like. Which forme of tribute (being most agreeable to nature) is vsed also in other parts of Africa. Their salt is taken out of a certaine great mountaine in the prouince of Balgada, and is made into square pieces.[29]

The most populous place in all Abassia is the court of the *Prete*, wheresoeuer it resideth; and there are erected fiue or sixe thousand tents of cotton of diuers colours, with so notable a distinction of streetes, lanes, market-places, and Tribunals; that euen in a moment euery man knoweth his owne station and the place where he is to doe his busines. A man may coniecture the greatnes of this courte, if he doe but consider, that (according to the report of some who haue there bin personally present) besides the camels which carry the tents, the mules of carriage exceede the number of fiftie thousand. Their mules serue them to carry burthens, and to ride vpon: but their horses are onely for the warres. The Mahumetans haue now brought this prince to great extremity: but heretofore while he was in his flourishing estate, he liued so maiestically, that he neuer spake but by an interpreter; nor would be seene to his subiects, but onely vpon solemne dayes. At other times it was held as a great fauour, if he did shew but the halfe part of his feete to ambassadours, and to his fauorites. And no maruel: for amongst the Ethiopians it hath beene an ancient custome (as *Strabo* writeth) To adore their kinges like gods, who for the most part liue enclosed at home. This so strange and stately kinde of gouernment, did exceedingly abase his subiects, whom the *Prete* vsed like slaues; so that vpon the smallest occasions that might be, he would depriue them of all honour and dignity, were they neuer so great.

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Abassia containeth many large plaines, and very high mountaines, all fruitfull. In some places you shall haue most extreame coulde and frostie weather: but not any snowe throughout the whole empire, no not in the mountaines.

The *Prete* hath many moores in his dominions, and vpon his borders; but the most populous of all others are the Moores called Dobas,[30] who are bound by a law neuer to marry, till they can bring most euident testimony, that each of them hath slaine twelue Christians. Wherefore the Abassin merchants passe not by their country, but with most strong guardes. *The Moors called Dobas.*

## A particular and briefe relation of all the kingdomes and prouinces subiect to the Christian Emperour of Abassia, commonly called *Prete Ianni.*

### *Barnagasso.*

OF all the prouinces subiect vnto the *Prete*, that of * Barnagasso[31] is best knowne vnto vs, bicause it is so neere vnto the Red sea; ouer against the shore whereof it stretcheth in length from Suachen, almost as farre as the very mouth or entrance of the streight, being (as is before saide) bounded on the south part with the mightie riuer of Abagni, which runneth westward out of the lake of Barcena into Nilus. Howbeit it hath no other port vpon the Red sea but onely Ercoco, situate neere the Isle of Mazua; neither hath the *Prete* any porte but this, in all his dominions; so that he is (as it were) on all sides landlocked, which is one of the greatest defects in any empire, kingdome, or state, that can be imagined. This prouince

* *Barnagaes.*

*Out of this lake also the riuer of Zeila runneth eastward into the Red sea.*

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is full of townes and villages, as likewise of riuers and pooles which make it exceeding fruitfull. The Viceroy or gouernour hereof, called also by the name of *Barnagasso, resideth in the citie of Beroa, otherwise called Barua, and by *Ptolemey* (as *Sanutus* thinketh) Coloue, situate vpon a pleasant riuer abounding with fish. Vnto him likewise are subiect the gouernments of Danfila and of Canfila, neere vnto the borders of Egypt.

** Bar in the Abassin toong signifieth the Sea, and Neguz a king: so that Barnagaez or Barnagasso, is as much as king of the sea, or Lord high admirall.*

Certaine yeeres past the great Turkes forces haue mightily afflicted this prouince, destroying the townes, and leading the people captiue: so that in the end *Isaac* the lorde Barnagasso was inforced to compound with the Turkes lieutenant (bearing title, The Bassa of Abassia, and residing in Suachen) for the yeerely tribute of a thousand ounces of golde. Ouer and besides he paieth euery yeere vnto his soueraigne the *Prete*, an hundred and fiftie excellent horses, with cloth of silke and of cotton, and other matters.

On the most westerly part of Barnagasso, beginneth a mightie ridge of mountaines, which for a good space waxing narrower and narrower, at length in the kingdome of Angote dilateth it selfe into a rounde forme, enuironing with the steepe sides, and impassable tops thereof, many fruitefull and pleasant vallies, for the space of fifteene daies iourney in compasse: within which vallies (as it were in walled castles) all persons whatsoeuer, both male and female, of the Abassin bloud royall, are vnder paine of most extreme punishment, togither with their whole families, limited to remaine. Within this great roundell or enclosure of mountaines, there is (among many others) contained one lesser, which is begirt arounde with a mountainous wall so craggie, steepe, and vnscaleable, that no man can come in or out, but onely by a certaine basket drawne vp and downe vpon a rope: neither is it possible to famish the parties within by a siege, be it neuer so long:

*All persons of the Abassin blood royall enclosed within a mightie roundel of mountaines. Francis Aluarez, cap. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, &c.*

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for they haue fruitefull ground, with houses, a church, a monasterie, cesternes of water, and all other necessaries for the continuall maintenance of fiue hundred persons. Within this strong citadell of mountaines (for the auoiding of all tumults and seditions) are locked vp those great personages which come neerest in bloud to the *Prete*, and are in possibilitie of the crowne; and here must they all liue and die, except a very few of them, who attaine at length vnto the gouernment of the empire. The Abassins haue a tradition, that one *Abraham* an emperour of theirs being admonished in a dreame, that he shoulde keepe his dominions in tranquilitie by the meanes aforesaid, was the first that founde this mountaine, and used it for the same purpose.

## *Tigremahon.*

TIgremahon, a very large kingdome, lieth betweene the riuer Marabo, Nilus, the Red sea, and the kingdome of Angote. The gouernour heereof paieth for yeerely tribute vnto the *Prete* two hundred Arabian horses, a great quantitie of silke and cotton-cloth, and very much golde. Vnto this kingdome is subiect the prouince of Tigray, wherein standes the citie of Caxumo, sometimes the royall seate of the Queene of Saba (which they say was called Maqueda, of whom *Salomon* begat a sonne named *Melich*, before mentioned) which citie was the seate likewise of Queene *Candace*. Also to the said kingdome of Tigremahon belong the prouinces of Sabaim, Torrates, Balgada, and others.

## *Angote.*

THis kingdome standing betweene the kingdomes of Tigremahon and Amara, is full of mountaines and valleies, and aboundeth mightilie with all kinde of corne and cattell. The inhabitants eate but one meale in fower

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and twentie howers, and that alwaies in the night: their foode is most commonly rawe flesh, with a kinde of sauce made of an oxe gall. In stead of money they vse salte, and little balles of iron, as is before saide. Vnto this kingdome do belong the prouinces of Abuguna, and Guanamora, with other regions and places.

## *Amara.*

THe kingdome of Amara bordering north vpon Angote, east vpon Xoa, south vpon Damut, and extending west almost as farre as Nilus; is for the most part a plaine region, without mountaines, very fertile, and abounding with cattell. Vpon the frontiers of this kingdome standeth the foresaide large, high, and craggie mountaine, wherein the sonnes, brethren, and kinsfolkes of the *Prete* are most warily kept, and from whence after his decease the heire apparant is brought, to be inuested in the empire.

The kingdome of Xoa situate betweene the kingdomes of Amara, Damut, and Fatigar, containeth many deepe vallies, and aboundeth with all kinde of corne and cattell.

In the kingdome of Goiame are two mightie lakes, from which Nilus is saide to fetch his originall. Heere is exceeding plentie of golde vnrefined: the north part of this region is full of deserts and mountainous places.

Bagamidri one of the largest kingdomes in all the vpper Ethiopia, extendeth in length by the riuer Nilus, the space almost of six hundred miles: and in this kingdome are many most rich siluer-mines.

The kingdome of Fatigar lying betweene the kingdomes of Adel, and of Xoa, consisteth the greatest parte of champion groundes, which yeelde wheate, barly, and other graine most plentifully. In this kingdome standes an exceeding high mountaine, on the toppe whereof is a lake of twelue miles in compasse, abounding with great varietie

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of fish; and from this mountaine runne many riuers stored with fish also.

The kingdome of Damut (as *Sanutus* affirmeth) doth border vpon the kingdome of Xoa, and is enclosed on either side with the lake of Barcena, and the lande of Zanguebar. Howbeit others place Damut betweene the kingdomes of Vangue and Goiame towarde the west, which opinion seemeth most probable. This countrey aboundeth with golde, ginger, grapes, corne, and beasts of all sortes. The slaues of this kingdome are much esteemed, and are commonly solde throughout all Arabia, Persia, and Egypt, where they prooue most valiant soldiers. The greater part of the people of Damut are Gentiles, and the residue Christians, who haue certaine monasteries. In this kingdome is that exceeding high and dreadfull mountaine, (hauing one narrow passage onely to ascend by) whither the *Prete* sendeth his nobles which are conuicted of any heinous crime, to suffer ignominious death with hunger and cold. About the fountaines of Nilus some say, that there are Amazones or women-warriers, most valiant and redoubted, which vse bowes and arrowes, and liue vnder the gouernement of a Queene: as likewise the people called Cafri or Cafates, being as blacke as pitch, and of a mightie stature, and (as some thinke) descended of the Iewes; but now they are idolators, and most deadly enimies to the Christians; for they make continuall assaults vpon the Abassins, dispoiling them both of life and goods: but all the day-time they lie lurking in mountaines, woods, and deepe valleies.

*The mountaine of death.*

*Of these Amazones read more in the discourse of Monomotapa following.*

### *The stile vsed by Prete Ianni in his letters.*

*This stile is taken out of a letter written by Dauid the Emperour of AEthiopia 1524.*

I the king, whose name the lions do reuerence, and who by the grace of God was at my baptisme called *Athani Tingil*, that is, *The incense of the virgine*, but now at the

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beginning of my raigne, tooke vpon me the name of *Dauid*; beloued of God, the piller of faith, descended of the tribe of *Iuda*, the sonne of *Dauid*, the sonne of *Salomon*, the sonne of the pillar of *Sion*, the sonne of the seede of *Iacob*, the sonne of the hand of *Marie*, the sonne of *Nahu* according to the flesh, the sonne of the holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* according to grace, Emperour of the higher and greater AEthiopia, and of most large kingdomes, territories, and iurisdictions, the king of Xoa, Caffate, Fatigar, Angote, Barú, Baaliganze, Adea, Vangue, and Goiame, where the fountaines of Nilus are; as likewise of Amara, Baguamedri; Ambea, Vague, Tigremahon, Sabaim the countrie of the Queen of Saba, of Barnagasso, and lorde as farre as Nubia, which confineth vpon Egypt.

## Certaine answeres of Don *Francisco Aluarez*, (*who from the yeere* 1520, *for the space of sixe yeeres* next ensuing, had trauailed and remained in the countrey of PRETE IANNI *with the Portugall ambassadour* Rodrigo de Lima) made vnto sundrie demaunds or questions of the Archbishop of *Bragança, concerning the state of the foresaide countrey and prince, and of the disposition, manners, and customes of the people.* Io. Bap. Ramusius, *vol.* 1. *delle voiag. fol.* 254. 255.

THe Ethiopian Emperour called *Prete Ianni* hath no setled place of abode where he continually resideth; but is alwaies flitting vp and downe, sometimes to one place, and sometimes to another, and liueth in tentes set vp in the fields, enuironed with a kinde of fortification; of which tents there may be in his campe of all sorts to the

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number of 5000. or 6000; and of horsemen and mules 50000. and vpwards.

It is a generall custome of the *Prete* and of all his subiects not to passe on horsebacke by any church (so great is their reuerence to holy places) but so soone as they approch thereunto, they light vpon the ground, and hauing passed by, they mount on horsebacke againe.

Whensoever the *Prete* marcheth with all his troupes, there is carried before him vpon the shoulders of certaine priests an altar and a consecrated stone, whereon they vse to administer their communion: the priests appointed to cary it vpon a frame of wood, are eight in number, seruing fower and fower by turnes; before whom goeth a clerke with a censer and a little bell sounding; at the sight and noise whereof all persons forsake the way, and such as are on horsebacke, dismount.

In all this countrey there is not any towne consisting of aboue 1600. families, & there are very few that haue so many: neither are there any castles or walled places; but verie manie villages, and infinite numbers of people. Their houses are built round, al of earth, flat-roofed, and couered with a kind of thatch which wil last the time of a mans life, being compassed about with courts or yards. They haue no bridges of stone vpon their riuers, but all of wood. They sleep commonly vpon oxe-hides, or else vpon certaine couches corded & sustained with thongs made of the said hides. They haue no kind of tables to eat their meat vpon, but haue serued it in vpon plaine & very broad platters of wood, without any table-cloth at al. Also they haue certaine great deep dishes like basons made of black earth shining in maner of Iet, with other cups of the same earth, out of which they vse to drinke water & wine. Many of them eate raw flesh, but others broile it vpon the coles or firebrands: and some places there are so destitute of wood,

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that the people are faine to dresse their meate with oxe-dung.

Their armour and weapons be Azagaie or short darts, some few swords, and certaine shirts of male verie long and streight, and (as some of our men which haue seene them doe report) made of naughtie and vnseruiceable matter. They haue bowes and arrowes great store, but not with feathers as ours be: as likewise helmets and head-peeces, but very few, and first brought in since they began to haue traffique with the Portugals: howbeit they haue manie strong targets. Of artillerie they had *at our departure foureteene small yron-peeces, which they had bought of certaine Turkes that vsually came to trafficke vpon the coast; for which peeces the *Prete* willed that they should haue their vttermost demande, to the end they might be the willinger to returne and bring more; and he caused some of his seruants also to learne how to discharge them.

*1526.

*Philippo Pigafetta will haue Nilus to spring out of one great lake onely, which is to the south of Goiame.*

The riuer of Nilus, I my selfe neuer saw, although at one time I was within thirtie miles thereof: howbeit some of our Portugales haue trauelled to the very fountaines of Nilus, which are two great lakes comparable to seas, situate in the kingdome of Goiame; out of which hauing conueyed it selfe a small distance, this riuer embraceth certaine Islets, and then holdeth on his course to Egypt.

*The true cause of the increase of Nilus.*

The reason why Nilus yeerely ouerfloweth Egypt, is, because the generall winter of Ethiopia holding on with most mightie and continual raines from the middle of Iune to the midst of September, doth make the said riuer so exceedingly to swel, that the waters thereof couer al the plaine countrie of Egypt.

In all the foresaid dominions of the *Prete*, they vse not to write one to another, neither do the officers of Iustice commit any of their affaires to writing, but all matters are dispatched by messengers and by wordes of mouth: onely

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it was told me, that the reuenues and tributes of the *Prete*, are put downe in writing both vpon the receite, and at the disbursement.

The emperour *Prete Ianni* hath two speciall princely names, to wit, Acegue, which signifieth an emperour, and Neguz, a king.

The Patriarke or arche-prelate of all Abassia is called Abuna, that is to say, Father; neither is there any in all the whole empire which ordaineth ministers, but onely hee.

There is no wine of the grape made publiquely in any place, but onelie in the houses of the *Prete* and of the Patriarke; for if it be made anie other where, it is done by stealth.

The wine which is vsed in their communions, they make of raisins steeped ten daies in water, and afterward streined in a wine-presse; and it is a most cordiall, delicate, and strong wine.

¶In this countrey is a great abundance of golde, siluer, copper, and tinne, but the people are ignorant how to worke it out of the mines: neither haue they any coine of golde or siluer, but all their bargaines are made by bartering of one commoditie for another. Also they trucke little peeces of gold, some weighing a dram, and some an ounce. But salt is the principall thing which runneth currant for money throughout all the emperours dominions. ❧

Some places there are which yeeld wheat and barly, and others millet in great plentie; and where the saide graines are not reaped, there groweth Tafo da guza, a seede vtterly vnknowne in these parts, as likewise lentiles, beanes, pease, fitches, and all kinde of pulse in abundance.

Heere are infinite store of sugar canes, which they know neither how to boile nor refine, but eate it rawe.

There be great plentie of faire grapes and peaches, which are ripe in the moneths of Februarie and Aprill. Of

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orenges, limons, and citrons, the quantitie is innumerable; for they growe most naturally out of the Abassin soile: garden-herbes there are but fewe, bicause the people delight neither to set nor sowe them.

All the whole countrey is full of Basill, which groweth very tall both in the woods and vpon the mountaines: so are there likewise other odoriferous herbes of diuers sorts, but vnknowen vnto vs. Of trees common with vs I remember none other kinds growing there, but onely Cypresses, damsin-trees, sallowes by the waters side, and trees of Iuiubas.

Honie there is exceeding great plentie all the countrey ouer: neither are their bee-hiues placed abroad in the open aire as ours are: but they set them in chambers, where making a little hole in the wall, the bees go thicke in and out, and come home laden with honie. Wherefore there is great quantitie gathered in all the empire, but especially in the monasteries, where they make it a great part of their sustenance. There are founde also swarmes of bees in the woodes and vpon the mountaines, neere whom they place certaine hollowe boxes made of barke, which being filled with honicombes, they take vp, and carrie home to their houses.

They gather much waxe, whereof they make their candles, because they haue no vse of tallow.

*Oyle strayned out of an herbe.*

They haue no oyle of oliues, but of another kinde which they call Hena: and the hearbe whereout they straine it, is like a little vine-leafe: neither hath this oyle any smell at all, but in colour it is as beautifull as gold.

Heere likewise they haue store of flax, but they know not how to make cloth thereof.

Here is also great plenty of cotton, whereof they make cloth of diuers colours.

One countrie there is so extreamely colde, that the

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people are inforced to clad themselues in very course cloth of a darke tawnie.

Concerning phisicke, and the cure of diseases, they know verie little or nothing; but for aches in any partes of their bodies the onely remedy which they vse is to apply cupping-glasses; and for head-aches they let the great vaine of the temples bloud.

Howbeit they haue certaine herbes, the iuice whereof being drunke, serueth them in steede of a purgation.

There would in this countrie be gathered infinite store of fruit, and far greater quantitie of corne, were not the poore commons most miserablie oppressed by their superiours, who extorte all their substance from them; so that they neuer till nor plant any more, then they must of meere necessitie.

In no place wheresoeuer I trauelled, could I see any shambles of flesh, but onely at the court of the *Prete:* for in other places no man may kill an oxe, though it bee his owne, without licence from the gouernour of the countrie.

*Their manner of Iustice.*

As touching their ordinary proceeding in iustice, they vse not to put any to sudden death, but beate them with bastinados according to the quality of the offence, and likewise they plucke out their eyes, and cut off their handes and feete: howbeit during mine abode there I saw one burnt for robbing of a church.

The common sort speake truth very seldome, though it bee vpon an oathe, vnlesse they be forced to sweare *By the head of the King.* They feare exceedingly to be excommunicated; so that being enioned any thing that tendeth to their preiudice, if they do it all, it is done for feare of excommunication.

*Their maner of swearing.*

Their depositions or othes are performed in this manner. The partie to be deposed goeth accompanied by two priests, carrying with them fire and incense to the church-

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doore, whereon he layeth his hande; and then the said priests adiure him to tell the truth, saying: *If thou sweare falsly, as the lyon deuoureth the beasts of the forest, so let the diuell deuoure thy soule; and as corne is ground vnder the mill-stone, so let him grinde thy bones; and finally, as the fire burneth vp the wood, so may thy soule burne in the fire of hell:* and the partie sworne, answereth to euery of the former clauses, Amen. *But if thou speake truth, let thy life be prolonged with honour, and thy soule enter into Paradise with the blessed:* and he againe answereth, *Amen.* Which being done, hee giueth testimonie of the matter in question.

*The ceremonies vsed in their Churches.*

No person may sit in their churches, nor enter into them with his shooes on, nor spit within them, neither may any dogge or any other creature voide of reason come within them. They confesse themselues standing vpon their feete, and so standing likewise, receiue absolution. They say their forme of publike praier after one and the same manner, both in the churches of their Canons, and of their friers: which friers haue no wiues; but the Canons and priests are permitted to haue. Where the Canons liue togither, they go each man to diet at his owne house; but the friers eate their meate in common.

Their ecclesiasticall gouernours are called Licanati. The sonnes of the Canons are, as it were by inheritance, Canons; but priests sonnes haue no such priuilege, vnlesse they be ordained by the Abuna. They pay no tithes to any churches, but the clergie are maintained by great possessions belonging to their churches and monasteries. Also when any priest is cited, he is conuented before a secular iudge.

Whereas I saide, they sit not in their churches, it is to bee vnderstoode, that alwaies without the church doore stande a great number of woodden crutches, such as lame men vse to go upon; where euery man taketh his

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owne, and leaneth thereupon all the time of their diuine seruice.

All their books (which they haue in great numbers) are written in parchment, for paper they haue none; and the language wherein they are written named Tigia, is all one with the Abassin language: but so it was called from the name of the first towne in all that empire, which was conuerted to the Christian religion.

All their churches haue two curtaines, one about their great altar, with belles, within which curtaine none may enter but onely priests: also they haue another curtaine stretching through the midst of their church, and within that may no man come, but such as haue taken holy orders: insomuch that many gentlemen and honorable persons take orders vpon them, onely that they may haue accesse into their churches.

The greater part of their monasteries are built vpon high mountaines, or in some deepe valley: they haue great reuenues and iurisdictions; and in many of them they eate no flesh all the yeere long. Neither do they spende any store of fish, bicause they know not how to take it.

Vpon the wals of all their churches are painted the pictures of Christ, of the blessed virgine Marie, of the apostles, prophets and angels, and in euery one the picture of Saint George a horseback. They haue no Roodes, neither will they suffer Christ crucified to be painted, bicause they say, they are not woorthy to behold him in that passion. All their priests, friers, and noblemen continually carrie crosses in their hands; but the meaner sort of people carrie them about their neckes.

Their moueable feasts, namely Easter, the feast of Ascension and Whitsontide, they obserue at the verie same daies and times that we do. Likewise as concerning the feasts of Christmas, the Circumcision, the Epiphanie, and



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other the feasts of the saints, they agree whollie with vs, though in some other things they varie.

They haue great store of leprous persons, who are not put apart from the rest of the people, but liue in company with them: and many there are who for charitie and deuotions sake do wash them, and heale their wounds.

*Their musicall instruments.* They haue a kinde of trumpets, but not of the best, and likewise certaine drums of brasse which are brought from Cairo, and of woode also couered with leather at both endes, and cimbals like vnto ours, and certaine great basons whereon they make a noise. There are flutes in like sort, and a kinde of square instruments with strings, not much vnlike to an harpe, which they call *Dauid Mozan*, that is to say, the harpe of *Dauid;* and with these harpes they sonde before the *Prete*, but somewhat rudely.

Their horses of the countrey-breed are in number infinite, but such small hackney-iades, that they doe them little seruice: howbeit those that are brought out of Arabia and Egypt are most excellent and beautifull horses: and the great horse-masters also in Abassia haue certaine breeds or races of them, which being new foled, they suffer not to sucke the damme aboue three daies, if they be such as they meane to backe betimes: but separating them from their dammes, they suckle them with kine, and by that meanes they prooue most sightly and gallant horses. Hitherto *Aluarez.*

Thus much (I hope) may suffice to haue bin spoken concerning the vpper or Inner Ethiopia which containeth the empire of *Prete Ianni:* now sithens we are so far proceeded, let vs take also a cursory and briefe surueie of the lower or extreme Ethiopia, extending it selfe in forme of a speares point, or a wedge, as far as thirtie fiue degrees of southerly latitude.

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## *Of the lower or extreme Ethiopia.*

THis parte of Africa being vtterly vnknowne to *Ptolemey* and all the ancient writers, but in these later times, thoroughly discouered by the Portugales, especially along the coast, beginneth to the Northwest about the great riuer of Zaire, not far from the Equinoctial: from whence stretching southward to thirtie fiue degrees, and then Northward along the sea-coast on the backside of Africa, as far as the very mouth or enterance of the Arabian gulfe, it limiteth the south and east frontiers of the Abassin Empire last before described.

In this part also are many particulars very memorable, as namely besides sundry great empires and kingdomes, The famous mountaines of the moon, the mightie riuers of Magnice, Cuama, and Coauo, springing out of the lake Zembre, the renowned cape of good hope, and other matters whereof we will intreate in their due places.

This portion of Africa is diuided into sixe principall partes, namely: The land of Aian, the land of Zanguebar, the empire of Mohenemugi, the empire of Monomotapa, the region of Cafraria, & the kingdome of Congo.

## *Aian the first generall part of Ethiopia the lower.*

THe land of Aian is accounted by the Arabians to be that region which lyeth betweene the narrow entrance into the Red sea, and the riuer of Quilimanci; being vpon the sea-coast for the most part inhabited by the said Arabians: but the inland-partes thereof are peopled with a black nation which are Idolaters. It comprehendeth two kingdomes; Adel and Adea.

*The riuer of Quilimanci in nine degrees of northerly latitude.*

Adel is a very large kingdome, and extendeth from the mouth of the Arabian gulfe to the cape of Guardafu called of olde by *Ptolemey* Aromata promontorium. South and

*Adel the first generall part of Aian.*



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west it bordereth vpon the dominions of *Prete Ianni*, about the kingdome of Fatigar. The king of this countrie being a Moore, is accounted amongst the Mahumetans a most holy man, and very much reuerenced by them, because he wageth continuall war with the Christians, taking captiue many of the Abassins, and sending them to the great Turke, and the princes of Arabia, of whome he receiueth greate ayde for the maintenance of his warres, both of horse and foote. The people of Adel are of the colour of an oliue, being very warlike, notwithstanding that the greatest part of them want weapons. Their principall city is called *Anar, as some are of opinion. Vnto this kingdome is subiect the citie of Zeila inhabited by Moores, situate on a sandie and low soile, which some suppose to be built in the very same place, without the enterance of the Red sea, where *Ptolomey* placed the ancient mart-towne of Aualites. This citie is a place of great traffike; for hither they bring out of India, cloth, elephants teeth, frankincense, pepper, golde, and other rich merchandize. The territorie adjoining yeeldeth abundance of honie, waxe, and a great quantitie of oile, which they make not of oliues, but of a kinde of daintie plumes: it affourdeth likewise such plentie of corne, of cattell, and of fruits differing from ours, that they are transported by shipping to other nations. Barbora likewise, a citie of the Moores, standeth in this kingdome of Adel, and hath a commodious hauen, whereunto resort many ships laden with merchandize, from Aden in Arabia, and from Cambaya vpon the riuer of Indus. The citizens are blacke people, and their wealth consisteth most of all in flesh.

* *Or Arar.*

*Ptol. geog. lib. 4. cap. 7*

In the yeere 1541, *Gradaameth* the king of this place, after manie mischiefes which he had done to *Cladius* the emperour of Abassia, being vanquished by *Christopher de Gama*, the Indian Viceroy of *Iohn* the third king of Portugale; hee did by meanes of the souldiers and warlike

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prouisions, which were sent him from the Sheque or gouernour of Zebit, ouercome the Portugals & the Abassins. Howbeit afterward hauing sent the said forces backe againe to Zebit, himselfe was slaine, and his whole armie ouerthrowne by king *Claudius* aforesaide. But certaine yeeres after, the successour of *Gradaameth* hauing in a warlike encounter subdued the *Prete*, rode in triumph vpon a little asse; signifying thereby, that he ascribed not the victorie to his owne forces, but to the power of God.

*Adea, the second part of Aian.*

Adea, the second kingdome of the land of Aian, situate vpon the easterne Ocean, is confined northward by the kingdome of Adel, & westward by the Abassin empire. It is exceeding fruitful, & one part thereof mightily aboundeth with woods, the residue being sufficiently stored with cattell & corne. The inhabitants being Moores by religion, and paying tribute to the emperour of Abassia, are (as they of Adel before-named) originally descended of the Arabians: who many hundred yeeres agoe, partly by their rich traffike, and especially by force of armes, became lords not onely of Aian, but of all the sea-coast along as farre as Cabo de los corrientes, standing in the southerly latitude of fower and twentie degrees. In all which space the cities standing vpon the sea-coast; before the Portugals discouered the east Indies, lay open and vnfortified to the sea (bicause the Arabians themselues were absolute lords thereof) but were strongly walled toward the lande, for feare of the Cafri, or lawlesse wilde Negros, who were deadly enimies to the Arabians, and vtterly misliked their so neere neighbourhood. Howbeit since the Portugals taking of Magadazo, and diuers other townes vpon the coast, they haue applied themselues very much to fortification. But, to returne to the matter where we left,

*The kingdom and citie of Magadazo.*

vnto the foresaid kingdome of Adea belongeth the kingdome of Magadazo, so called of the principall citie therein, which is a most strong, beautifull, and rich place, and is

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subiect to the kingly gouernment of a Moore. The territorie adiacent is exceeding fruitfull, abounding with sheepe, kine, horses, wheate, barly, and other kindes of graine. It hath also an excellent hauen, and much frequented by the ships of Aden and Cambaya, which come thither laden with sundrie kindes of cloth, with spices and other merchandize ; and from hence they carrie elephants teeth, golde, slaues, honie, and waxe. The inhabitants are of an oliue-colour, and some of them blacke, like vnto the nations adioining, and they go naked from the girdle-stead vpward, and speak the Arabian toong. They are but meanely weaponed, which causeth them to shoote poisoned arrowes. This citie was in times past head of all the townes and cities of the Moores standing along this coast for a great distance.

### *Zanguebar or Zanzibar, the second generall part of the lower Ethiopia.*

ZAnzibar or Zanguebar, so called by the Arabians and Persians, is that tract of lande, which runneth along some parte of the dominions of *Prete Ianni*, and from thence extendeth it selfe by the east of Mohenemugi, til it ioyneth with the frontiers of Monomotapa. Howbeit some there are who vnder the name of Zanzibar will haue all the south part of Africa to be vnderstood, euen as far as Cabo Negro, which stretcheth into the western Ocean about 18. degrees of southerly latitude : so that they comprehend therein the empires of Mohenemugi and Monomotapa, and all the land of Cafraria. But in this controuersie wee rather chuse to follow the opinion of *Sanutus*, affirming with him, that the said maritime tract of Zanguebar (as it is by vs before limited) is a lowe, fennie, and woodie countrie, with many greate and small riuers running through it : which extremity of moisture in those hot climates

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causeth the ayer to be most vnholesome and pestilent. The inhabitants are for the most part black, with curled haire, being Idolaters, and much addicted to sorcery and witchcraft. They go naked all the vpper part of their bodies, couering their nether partes with clothes of diuers colours, and with beasts skins. And this tract of lande stretching along the sea-coast from the riuer Quilimanci to the riuer of Magnice containeth the kingdomes and territories of Melinde, Mombaza, Quiloa, Moçambique, Sofala, and others.

*Melinde the first part of Zanguebar.*

Melinde, the most Northerly kingdome of Zanguebar, situate in two degrees and an halfe of southerly latitude, and stretching from the coast vp into the main for the space of an hundred miles, hath a strong and stately city of the same name, being seuentie miles distant from Mombaça. It aboundeth with Rice, Millet, flesh, limons, citrons, and all kinds of fruites: but as for corne, it is brought hither out of Cambaya. The inhabitants (especially on the sea coast) are Moores and Mahumetans: who build their houses very sumptuously after the manner of Europe. They are of a colour inclining to white, and some blacke people they haue also among them, which are for the greatest part Idolaters: howbeit all of them pretend a kinde of ciuilitie both in their apparell, and in the decencie and furniture of their houses. The women are white, and sumptuously attired after the Arabian fashion with cloth of silke. Likewise they adorne their neckes, armes, hands, and feete with bracelets and iewels of golde and siluer. When they go abroad out of their houses, they couer themselues with a vaile of taffata, so that they are not knowne but when they themselues lift. Vpon this coast of Melinde you haue a very safe harborough, wherunto the ships that saile those seas do vsually resort. In briefe the inhabitants are a kind, true-harted, & trustie people, & courteous to strangers. They haue alwaies beene in league

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with the Portugals, giuing them most friendly entertainmēt, & reposing much cōfidence in them; neither haue they euer done them any iniury.

*Mombaza the second portion of Zanguebar.*

The kingdome of Mombaça, being the second generall part of Zanguebar, and situate in three degrees and a halfe beyond the Equinoctiall line, bordering to the north vpon Melinde, and to the south vpon Quiloa; is so called after the name of a certaine isle and citie vpon the coast, both which are named Mombaça, and are peopled with Mahumetans: their houses are of many stories high, and beautified with pictures both grauen and painted. Their kings are Mahumetans, and most deadly enimies to the Christians: one of the which taking vpon him to resist the Portugals, was himselfe quite vanquished and ouerthrowen, and constrained to leaue his citie to the sacke and spoile of his enimies, who found therein a good quantitie of gold, siluer, and pearle; and likewise cloth of cotton, of silke, and of gold, with great numbers of slaues, & such other commodities. Howbeit they remained not there any long time, but were inforced to abandon the place in regard of the most vnholesome and infectious aire. This kingdome is tributarie to the great empire of Mohenemugi.

*Quiloa the third part of Zanguebar.*

The kingdome of Quiloa situate in nine degrees towarde the pole Antarticke, and (like the last before mentioned) taking the denomination thereof from a certaine isle and citie both called by the name of Quiloa; may be accounted for the third portion of the lande of Zanguebar. This island hath a very fresh and coole aire, and is replenished with trees alwaies greene, and with plentie of all kinde of victuals. It is situate at the mouth of the great riuer Coauo which springeth out of the same lake from whence Nilus floweth, and is called also by some Quiloa, and by others Tahiua, and runneth from the saide lake, eastward for the space of sixe hundred miles, till it approcheth neere the sea, where the streame thereof is so forcible, that at

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the very mouth or out-let, dispersing it selfe into two branches, it shapeth out a great island, to the west whereof vpon the coast you may behold the little isle and the citie of Quiloa, being separated from the maine by a very narrow arme of the sea. This isle (as also the great isle before named) is inhabited by Mahumetans, who are of colour whitish. Their women are comely, and rich in their attire. Their houses are fairely builte of lime and stone, and haue within them very gallant and costly furniture, and without they are enuironed with gardens and orchards full of sundry delicate fruits and herbes. Of this island the whole kingdome (as is aforesaide) tooke the name; which vpon the coast extendeth it selfe to Cabo Delgado, or the slender Cape (being the limite betweene Moçambique and this kingdome of Quiloa) & from thence it stretcheth vnto the foresaid riuer of Coauo. In old time this kingdome of Quiloa was the chiefest of all the principalities there adioining; for the Arabians which were masters thereof had inlarged their dominions for the space of nine hundred miles, so that all the sea-coast and the islands, as farre as Cabo de los Corrientes situate in fower and twentie degrees of southerly latitude, were tributarie and subiect thereunto. Whereupon when the Portugals arriued in those countries the king of this place trusted so much to himselfe, that he thought he was able with his owne forces, not onely to make a defensiue warre against them, but also to driue them from those places, which they had already surprized. Howbeit, quite contrarie to his expectation, he was by the Portugals vtterly vanquished and put to flight. Who seazing vpon the isle and citie, enriched themselues with the great booties & spoiles that they found therein. Thus the mightie king of Quiloa (who before the Portugals arriuall in those parts, enioied also the chiefe commoditie of the rich gold mines of Sofala) became at length, by a composition made with *Don Pedro Cabral*, tributarie to the crowne

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of Portugall, paying for tribute at the first fiue hundred, and afterward fifteene hundred peeces of gold. Vpon the foresaid isle the Portugals erected a fortresse, which their king afterward commanded them to deface, considering that there were other forts sufficient enough for that coast.

*Mozambique the fourth part of Zanguebar.*

Betweene the two mightie riuers of Coauo and Cuama (both which spring out of one lake with Nilus) among the kingdomes of Mombara, Mozimba, Maeuas, and Embeoe, which are not as yet perfectly discouered, lieth the kingdome of Moçambique, so called of three small islets, situate in the mouth of the riuer *Meghincate in fowerteene and a halfe, or fifteene degrees of southerly latitude, which kingdome in ancient time by *Ptolemey* was called Promontorium Prassum. In the principall of the three foresaide isles, there is a very commodious and secure hauen, capable of all kinde of vessels, and there also the Portugals haue built a very strong forte: where albeit in regard of the lownes and moisture of the soile, being full of bogges and fens, the aire be most vnholsome, and in manner pestilent: yet the opportunitie of the place, and the plentie of victuals, haue made it one of the most famous and frequented hauens in all that Ocean. For which cause the fleetes which saile from Portugall to the east Indies, when they are out of hope to performe their voiage in summer, do vsually resort to spend the whole winter at Moçambique: and those Portugale ships also which come from the Indies toward Europe, must of necessitie touch at this place, to furnish themselues with victuals. Along these coasts do saile certaine Moores in vessels sowed or fastened togither with thongs of lether, the sailes whereof they make of Palme-leaues, and in stead of pitch and tallow, they calke them with gumme which they gather in the woods. Vnto this kingdome of Moçambique belongeth the prouince of Angoscia, so called from certaine isles of that name, lying directly ouer against it, which prouince

* *Or Moghincats.*

*Angoscia.*

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stretcheth to the riuer of Cuama. It is inhabited by Mahumetans and Gentiles, who are for the greatest part merchants, and do trafficke along that coast with the same wares and commodities wherewith the people of Sofala do trade.

*Sofala the fift part of Zanguebar.*

Sofala, or Sefala, the fift and last general part of Zanguebar, is a small kingdome lying vpon the sea-coast, between the riuers of Cuama and Magnice, being so called after the name of a riuer running through it, in which riuer lyeth an Island, which is the head and principal place of the whole countrie. On this Island the Portugales haue built a most strong forte, by meanes whereof they are become Lordes of the richest trade in all those parts. For (to say nothing of the Iuorie, Amber, and slaues which are hither brought) all the gold in a manner that is taken out of those manifolde and endlesse mines of Sofala and all the Inland-countries thereabouts, is here exchanged vnto the Portugales for cotton-cloth, silkes, and other commodities of Cambaia: all which is thought yeerely to amount vnto the summe of two millions of gold. This golden trade was first in the power of the Moores of Magadazo; and afterward it befell to them of Quiloa. The inhabitants of Sofala are Mahumetans, being gouerned by a king of the same sect, who yeeldeth obedience to the crowne of Portugale, because hee will not be subiect to the empire of Monomotapa.

Neither is it heere to bee omitted, that in these parts vnder the name of Iuorie, are bartered not onely elephants teeth, but also the teeth of sea-horses: which creatures are commonly found in the riuers of Nilus, Niger, Coauo, Cuama, Magnice, and all other the great riuers of Africa.

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## *The empire of Mohenemugi,*[32] *the third generall part of the lower Ethiopia.*

THis mightie empire bordering south vpon the kingdome of Moçambique, and the empire of Monomotapa; to the riuer Coauo, and beyond; west with the riuer Nilus; North vpon the dominions of *Prete Ianni*; and east vpon the kingdomes of Melinde, Mombaça, and Quiloa, hath not many yeeres ago bin discouered or at least heard of by the Portugales, vpon occasion perhaps of the warres, which with vnfortunate successe they haue waged against Monomotapa. The emperour of this country holdeth a continuall league with the princes of Melinde, Mombaça, and Quiloa, towards the sea, for traffiques sake: for they prouide his dominions with cloth of cotton, cloth of silke,[33] and sundrie other commodities brought from Arabia, Persia, Cambaya, and India, which are very well esteemed in those parts: but among the rest they bring especially certaine little balles, of a red colour, and in substance like vnto glasse, being made in Cambaya of a kinde of Bitumen or clammie claie, which balles they vse to weare like beades about their necks. They serue also to them in stead of money, for gold they make none account of. Likewise with the silkes that are brought vnto them they apparel themselues from the girdle downward. In exchange for all the foresaide wares and commodities they giue gold, siluer, copper, and iuorie. Howbeit vpon his Inland frontiers to the south and southwest, he maintaineth continuall and bloudie warres against the emperour of Monomotapa, his principall and greatest forces consisting of a most barbarous and fierce nation, called by the people of Congo Giachi, but by themselues Agag, who inhabite from the first great lake which is the fountaine of Nilus, for a certaine space vpon

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both sides of the said riuer, and then afterward on the westerne banke as farre as the second great lake from whence Zaire hath his chiefe original, & thence euen to the confines of *Prete Ianni*. They are a wilde and lawles people, liuing (after the manner of the ancient Scythians and Nomades, and like the Tartars and Baduin-Arabians of these times) a vagrant kind of life, vnder cabbins and cottages in the open forests. They are of stature tall, and of countenance most terrible, making lines vpon their cheekes with certaine iron-instruments, and turning their eie-lids backward, whereby they cast vpon their enimies a most dreadfull and astonishing aspect. They are man-eaters, and couragious in battaile. For their armour of defence they vse certaine Pauises or great targets wherwith they couer their whole bodies, being otherwise naked : and their offensiue weapons are dartes and daggers. It is not many yeeres since these cruel sauages ranging westward from Nilus, inuaded the kingdome of Congo, vanquished the inhabitants in sundrie battels, tooke the head citie, and forced the king *Don Aluaro* to flee for succour and safetie vnto the isle of horses, in the mouth of the great riuer Zaire, being one of the extreme frontiers of his dominions. Where the king himselfe was taken with an incurable dropsie, and his people in great numbers died of famine; who to relieue their extreme necessities, sold their wiues, their children, and their owne selues for slaues vnto the Portugals. Howbeit these warlike Giacchi, notwithstanding their hautie courage, and great exploits, are no whit feared, but rather most boldly encountered, and sometimes vanquished by the Amazones or women warriers of Monomotapa. Which two nations, what by warlike stratagems, and what by open and maine force, do often fight the most desperate and doubtfull battailes, that are performed in all those southern parts.

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## *The empire of Monomotapa, the fourth general part of the lower Ethiopia.*

BEnomotapa, Benomotaxa, or Monomotapa is a large empire,[34] so called after the name of the prince thereof, who in religion is a Gentile, and for extension of dominions, and military forces, a renowned and mightie emperour; in the language of whose subiects an emperour is signified by this word Monomotapa. This empire of his lyeth, as it were, in an Island which containeth in compasse seuen hundred and fiftie, or (as some thinke) one thousand leagues, being limited on the north-west by the great lake whereout Nilus springeth; on the south, by the riuer Magnice and the tributarie kingdome of Butua or Toroa; on the east it hath the sea-coast and the kingdome of Sofala, which in very deed is a member thereof; and the North part abutteth vpon the riuer of Cuama, and the empire of Mohenemugi. That part of this great Island which lyeth betweene the mouth of Cuama, and the cape de los Corrientes, is a very pleasant, holesome, and fruitfull country. And from the said cape to the riuer of Magnice, the whole region aboundeth with beasts both great and small; but it is cold by reason of the sharp brizes which come off the sea; and so destitute of wood, that the people for fewel are constrained to vse the dung of beasts, and they apparel themselues in their skinnes. Along the banke of the riuer Cuama are diuers hilles and downes couered with trees, and vallies likewise watered with riuers, being pleasantly situate, and well peopled. Here are such plenty of Elephants, as it seemeth by the great quantitie of their teeth, that there are yeerely slaine betweene foure and fiue thousand. Their elephants are nine cubites high, and fiue cubites in thicknes: They haue long and broad eares, little eyes, shorte tailes, and great bellies: and some are of

*Some will haue Magnice and Cuama to be two branches of one mightie riuer springing out of the great lake; which being so, they must quite separate Monomotapa from the same lake.*

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opinion, that Ethiopia yeeldeth as many elephants, as Europe doth oxen. The townes and villages of this empire are very few, and their buildings are of wood and clay, couered with thatch. None may haue doores to their houses but onely great personages. Their principal cities are* Zimbas, and Benamataza, the first whereof is one and twentie, and the second fifteene daies iourney from Sofala. They serue this emperour at the table vpon their knees: to sit before him, is all one, as with vs for a man to stand vpon his feete, neither may any presume to stand in his presence, but onely great lords. He is tasted vnto, not before, but after he hath eaten and drunke. For his armes he hath a spade and two dartes. Tribute he taketh none, but onely certaine daies seruice and giftes presented vnto him; without which there is no appearing in his sight. Hee carrieth, withersoeuer he go, foure hundred dogs, as a most sure and trustie guard. Hee keepeth all the heires of his tributary princes, as vassals, and as pledges of their fathers loialtie. There are no prisons in al his empire: for sufficient testimonie being brought of the commission of any crime, iustice is executed out of hand: and of all offences none are punished with greater seueritie and rigour, then witchcraft, theft, and adulterie. His people are of a meane stature, blacke, and well proportioned. They are Gentiles in religion, hauing no idols, but worshipping one onely God whom they call Mozimo.[36] They go apparelled in cloth of cotton, either made by themselues, or brought from other countries: howbeit the king will in no case weare any forrein cloth for feare of poison or such like trecherie: and the meaner sort of his subiects are clad in beasts skins. Among all the armies and legions of soldiers, which this emperour (for the defence of his great estate) is forced to maintaine, his Amazones are women warriers before mentionied are the most valiant, being indeed the very sinewes and chiefe strength of all his

* *This place both in regard of the name and situation may seeme to haue been Agysimba mentioned by Ptolemey.*[35]

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militarie forces. These women, after the manner of the ancient Scythish or Asiatike Amazones, so much spoken of in histories of former times, seare off their left paps, that they might not be an hinderance vnto them in their shooting. They are most expert in warlike stratagems, and swift of foote. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes. At certaine times for generations sake they accompany with men ; sending the male children home to their fathers, but keeping their daughters vnto themselves. They inhabite towards the west, not farre from the beginning of Nilus, in certaine places which themselues make choise of, and which are graunted vnto them by the fauour of the Emperour.

This empire of Monomotapa comprehendeth not onely the foresaid great island, but stretcheth it selfe farther also toward the cape of Buena esperança, as farre as the kingdomes of Butua or Toroa,[37] which being gouerned by particular lords, do acknowledge Monomotapa for their soueraigne. Throughout all this emperours dominions is found infinite quantitie of gold, in the earth, in the rockes, and in the riuers. The gold-mines of this countrey neerest vnto Sofala are those of Manica, vpon a plaine enuironed with mountaines ; and those also in the prouince of Matuca, which is inhabited by the people called Battonghi, and situate betweene the Equinoctiall line and the Tropique of Capricorne. These mines are distant from Sofala, betweene the space of 300. and sixe hundred miles : but those of the Boro and Quiticui are fifteene hundred miles distant towards the west. Others there are also in the kingdomes of Toroa or Butua : so that from hence or from Sofala, or from some other part of Monomotapa, some are of opinion, that *Salomons* gold for the adorning of the temple at Ierusalem, was brought by sea. A thing in truth not very vnlikely : for here in Toroa, and in diuers places of Monomotapa are till this day remaining manie huge and

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ancient buildings of timber, lime and stone, being of singular workemanship, the like whereof are not to be found in all the prouinces thereabouts. Heere is also a mightie wall of fiue and twentie spannes thicke, which the people ascribe to the workemanship of the diuell, being accounted from Sofala fiue hundred and ten miles the neerest way.[38] All other houses throughout this empire (as is aforesaid) consist of timber, claie, and thatch. And heere I may boldly affirme, that the ancient buildings of this part of Africa, & along the coast of the east Indies, may not onely be compared, but euen preferred before the buildings of Europe. The authors of which ancient monuments are vnknowen: but the later African buildings haue beene erected by the Arabians. In the time of *Sebastian* king of Portugale, the emperour of Monomotapa and many of his nobles were baptised: howbeit afterward being seduced by certaine Moores, hee put *Gonsaluo Silua* to death, who conuerted him to the Christian religion. Whereupon *Sebastian* king of Portugall sent against him an armie of sixteene thousand,* consisting for the most part of gentlemen and men of qualitie, vnder the conduct of *Francisco Barretto.*[39] The Monomotapa being afraid of the Portugall forces, offered *Barretto* as good and acceptable conditions of peace as might be desired: but he not contented with reason, was quite ouerthrowne, not by his enimies, but by the vnwholesome aire of Ethiopia, and by the manifold diseases which consumed his people.

* *Mine author here setteth downe too great a number.*

### *Cafraria the fift generall part of the lower Ethiopia.*

CAfraria, or the land of the Cafri, we esteeme to be both the coasts and inlands of the extreame southerly point of Africa, beginning from the riuer Magnice, and thence extending by Cabo da pescaria, Terra do Natal, Bahia da lagoa, Bahia fermosa, about the cape



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of Buena esperança, by the bay called Agoada Saldanha, and thence Northward along the westerne coast of Africa, as far as Cabo Negro, or the blacke cape, which is situate verie neere vnto eighteene degrees of Southerly latitude. The saide Cape of Buena esperança is deuided into three smaller headlands or capes; The westermost, being called Cabo de buena esperança, or The cape of good hope after the name of the whole promontorie, and being cut from the rest of the firme land: The middlemost is named Cabo falso, because the Portugales in their voiage homewards from the east Indies, haue sometimes mistaken this for the true cape beforementioned; betweene which two capes runneth into the sea a mightie riuer called by the Portugales Rio dolce[40] (where their caraks often take in fresh water) and by the naturall inhabitants Camissa, which springeth out of a small lake called Gale, situate among The mountaines of the moon so much celebrated by ancient geographers: The third and eastermost cape stretching farthest into the sea, is called Cabo das Agulhas, or the cape of Needles, because there the needles of dialles touched with the loadstone, stand directly North, without any variation either to the east or to the west: betweene this cape and the foresaid westermost cape (which ly forth into the sea like two hornes) is the bredth of this mightie promontorie, containing about fiue and twentie leagues; the length whereof from the riuer of Fernando Poo, where it beginneth to iuttie forth into the sea, along the westerne coast southward, to the cape das Agulhas, amounteth to two thousand and two hundred Italian miles; and from Cabo das Agulhas, along the easterne shore northward, to Cape Guardafu, are three thousand three hundred of the same miles. This cape at the first discouerie thereof was called by Nauigators, The Lyon of the sea; & Cabo tormentoso, or The tépestuous cape; not so much, as I take it, for the dangerous and stormie seas more about

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this cape than any other; but partly in regard of the chargeable, dangerous, and long trauels of the Portugals before they could attaine vnto it; and partly bicause of the great compasse which in their voiages outward they are constrained to fetch for the doubling thereof; and partly also in regard of some tempestuous and stormie weather wherewith they haue beene encountered at this Cape; which notwithstanding at certaine times is an ordinarie matter vpon all shores and promontories ouer the face of the whole earth. And albeit some will not come within sight of this cape, but keepe a great distance off, for feare of the dangerous seas beating thereupon (as namely *Francis de Almeida* who sailed aboue an hundred leagues to the south, in fortie degrees of latitude; *Pedro de Agnaia* in fortie fiue; and *Vasco Carualbo* in fortie seuen, where in the moneth of Iuly eight of his men died for cold) yet we find by the late and moderne experience of sir *Francis Drake*, master *Candish*,[41] master *Lancaster* in his returne from the east Indies,[42] and of the Hollanders in their nauigations thither, begun in the yeere 1595, that those seas are at sometimes not onely free from stormie tempests, but most pleasant also to saile vpon, with faire and gentle weather. And as the Spaniards for a long time (that they might discourage all other nations from attempting nauigation vpon The south sea beyond America) blinded all Christendome with a report, that the streights of Magellan were unrepasable: so perhaps the Portugals, to terrifie all others from sailing to the east Indies, and to keepe the gaine and secrets of that rich trade entire vnto themselues, haue in their writings and relations made the doubling of the cape of Buena Esperança, and the crossing ouer those seas, a matter of farre greater difficultie and danger, then it is of late manifestly found to be. The name of Buena esperança or good hope, was giuen vnto this promontory by *Iohn*

*G. B. B. Rel. vn. dell. Afr. Part 1. lib. 2.*



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the second king of Portugall; bicause that when his fleetes had once doubled this cape, either outward or homeward, they then stedfastly hoped in good time to performe the residue of their voiage; otherwise not. In the midst of this cape lieth a plot of ground of that beautie and delight, as that without any humane industrie it may compare with the most artificiall gardens of Europe. On the top of this place, nature minding as it were to excell her-selfe, hath framed a great plaine, which for beautifull situation, fruitfulnes of herbes, varietie of flowers, and flourishing verdure of things, seemeth to resemble a terrestriall paradise. The Portugals terme it not altogither unfitly, The table of the cape.[48] And to the end they might not faile of the meanes to enioy so pleasant a place, there is close vnder it a very good harbour which is called The port of Conception.

The people of this place called in the Arabian toong Cafri, Cafres, or Cafates, that is to say, lawlesse or outlawes, are for the most part exceeding blacke of colour, which very thing may be a sufficient argument, that the sunne is not the sole or chiefe cause of their blacknes; for in diuers other countries where the heate thereof is farre more scorching and intolerable, there are tawnie, browne, yellowish, ash-coloured, and white people; so that the cause thereof seemeth rather to be of an hereditarie qualitie transfused from the parents, then the intemperature of an hot climate, though it also may be some furtherance thereunto. The Hollanders in the yeere 1595. entering the harbour of Saint Bras, somewhat to the east of Cabo das Agulhas, had conuersation and truck with some of these Cafres, whom they found to be a stoute and valiant people, but very base and contemptible in their behauior and apparell, being clad in oxe and sheeps skins, wrapped about their shoulders with the hairie sides inward, in forme of a mantle. Their weapons are a kinde of small

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slender dartes or pikes, some whereof are headed with some kinde of mettall, the residue being vnheaded, and hardened onely at the points with fire. They couer their priuie parts with a sheepes tayle, which is bound vp before and behinde with a girdle. Their home-beasts are, like those of Spaine, verie well limmed and proportioned. Their sheepe are great and faire, not hauing any wooll on their backes, but a kinde of harsh haire like goates. Other particulars by them obserued, for breuities sake, I omit.

Now that we may proceede in describing the residue of Cafraria, hauing sayled about the cape of Buena esperança westward, albeit the coast in regard of the greatnes thereof may seem to ly directly north, yet for the space of seuenteene degrees, till you come to Cabo Negro, (the farthest North-westerne bound of this fift part of the lower Ethiopia) it trendeth somewhat to the west: along which coast somewhat within the land appeareth a mighty ranke or ridge of mountaines, called by the Portugales Os picos fragosos, that is, the ragged points or spires, being besides their excessiue height, craggie, rough, and steepe, lying bare, desolate, and vtterly voide of all succour, and seruing for no other end, but for an object to the windes, and a mark for the tempests. The residue of the coast, till you come to Cabo Negro, sometimes lying lowe and sometimes high, sometimes shooting into the sea, and sometimes again gently retiring, containeth many plaines, hils, vallies, and places most fertile and delightful; some of them being alwaies of so fresh and pleasant view, as they seeme to represent a continuall spring.

*Os Picos fragosos.*

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# The sixt and last part of the lower *or extreme Ethiopia, containing the kingdome of Congo;* whereunto in times past were tributarie and subiect the kingdomes of *Matama, and Angola to the south; the kingdomes of Quisama,* and Pangelungos to the east; and to *the north the kingdome of Anzicana inhabited by the Anzichi, and Loango peopled by the Bramas.*

*The kingdome of Matama.*

First therefore (according to our proposed order) that we may begin with the most southerly parts; The kingdome of Matama[44] so called after the name of the king thereof, (who being a Gentile ruleth ouer diuers prouinces named Quimbebe) bordereth north vpon the first great lake whereout Nilus springeth, and vpon the south frontiers of Angola; east it abutteth vpon the western banke of the riuer Bagamidri; and stretcheth south as far as the riuer Brauagul, which springeth out of the mountains of the moone. This countrey standeth in a good & holesome aire, & aboundeth with mines of cristall & other metals, and hath victuals great plenty. And although the people thereof & and their neighbour-borderers doe traffike togither; yet the king of Matama and the king of Angola wage war oftentimes one against another: also the said riuer Bagamidri deuideth this kingdome of Matama from the great empire of Monomotapa before described, which lieth to the east thereof.

*Angola.* Next followeth Angola, a kingdome subiect in times

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past to the king of Congo, the gouernour whereof not verie many yeeres ago, growing exceedingly rich & mightie, rebelled against his soueraigne, & by diuers attempts skaking off the yoke of superioritie, became himselfe an absolute prince. This countrey, by reason that the people are suffered to haue as many wiues as they list, is a place most woonderfully populous. The goe whole millions of them to the warres, not leauing any men of seruice behinde: but for want of victuals they are often constrained to leaue their enterprises halfe vndone. Vpon this king, *Paulo Diaz*, who remained gouernour in these parts for the king of Portugall, waged warre: the reason was, bicause certaine Portugall merchants and others going by way of traffike to Cabaza, a towne situate an hundred and fiftie miles from the sea, where the king of Angola vsually resideth; they were by order from this king, the same yeere that king *Sebastian* died in Barbarie,[45] sodainly spoiled of their goods, and part of them slaine; it being alleaged, that they were all spies, and came to vndermine the present state. Whereupon *Paulo Diaz* prouided himselfe, and with two galeots did many notable exploits on both sides of the riuer Coanza. Finally hauing built a forte in a very commodious and hillie ground, at the confluence or meeting of the riuer last mentioned, and the riuer Luiola, with a small number of Portugals, ioined to the aide sent him from the king of Congo and from certaine princes of Angola his confederates, he gaue the foresaid king (notwithstanding his innumerable troupes of Negros) diuers & sundry ouerthrowes. The said riuer Coanza springeth out of the lake of Aquelunda,[46] situate westward of the great lake whereout Nilus takes his originall. In this kingdome are the mountaines of Cabambe, abounding with rich and excellent siluer mines;[47] which haue ministred the chiefe occasion of all the foresaid warres. This region aboundeth also with other minerals, and with cattell of all sorts. Most true it is,

*The siluer mines of Cabambe.*

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that dogs-flesh is heere accounted of all others the daintiest meate; for which cause they bring vp and fatten great plentie of dogs for the shambles. Yea it hath beene constantly affirmed, that a great dogge accustomed to the bull was sold in exchange of two and twentie slaues, the value of whom coulde not amount to much lesse than two hundred and twentie ducats. The priests of Angola called Gange, are helde in such estimation and account, as the people are verily perswaded, that they haue in their power abundance and scarcitie, life and death. For they haue knowledge of medicinable hearbes, and of deadly poisons also, which they keepe secret vnto themselues; and by meanes of their familiaritie with the diuell, they often foretell things to come.

*Quizama.* Towards the lake of Aquelunda before mentioned, lieth a countrey called Quizama; the inhabitants whereof being gouerned after the manner of a common wealth, haue shewed themselues very friendly to the Portugals, and haue done them speciall good seruice in their warres against the king of Angola.

Thus hauing briefely pointed at the former three bordering countries, let vs now with like breuitie passe through *Bahia das vacas, or the baye of Cowes.* the kingdome of Congo it selfe. This kingdome therefore (accounting Angola, as indeede it is, a member thereof) beginneth at Bahia das vacas in thirteene, and endeth at Cabo da Caterina in two degrees and a halfe of southerly latitude. True it is that the coast neere vnto the saide Bay of Cowes is subiect to the king of Congo, but the inland is gouerned by him of Angola. East and west it stretcheth from the sea in bredth as farre as the lake of Aquelunda, for the space of sixe hundred miles, and is diuided into *The six prouinces of Congo.* sixe prouinces: namely, the prouince of Pemba, situate in the very hart and center of the whole kingdome; Batta, the most easterly prouince, where the ancient writers seeme to haue placed Agifymba; Pango which bordereth vpon

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Pangelungi; Sundi the most Northerly prouince; Sogno which stretcheth ouer the mouth of the great riuer Zaire; and Bamba which is the principall of all the rest both for extension of ground, for riches, and for militarie forces. In the prouince of Pemba, or rather in a seuerall territorie by it selfe, standeth the citie of Sant Saluador, in former times called Banza, being the metropolitan of all Congo, and the seate of the king, situate an hundred and fiftie miles from the sea, vpon a rocke and high mountaine; on the verie top whereof is a goodly plaine abounding with fountaines of holesome and sweete water, and with all other good things which are requisite either for the sustenance, or solace of mankinde: and vpon this plaine where Sant Saluador is seated, there may inhabitie to the number of an hundred thousand persons. In this citie the Portugals haue a warde by themselues, separate from the rest, containing a mile in compasse: and about that bignes also is the palace or house of the king. The residue of the people dwell for the most part scatteringly in villages. It is a place enriched by nature with corne, cattell, fruits, and holesome springs of water in great abundance. The principall riuer of all Congo called Zaire, taketh his chiefe originall out of the second lake of Nilus, lying vnder the Equinoctiall line: and albeit this is one of the mightiest riuers of all Africa, being eight and twentie miles broad at the mouth, yet was it vtterly vnknowen to ancient writers. Amongst other riuers it receiueth Vumba and Barbela, which sprung out of the first great lake. In this countrey are sundry other riuers also, which fetch their originall out of the lake of Aquelunda: the principall whereof are Coanza, which diuideth the kingdome of Congo from that of Angola, and the riuer Lelunda, which breedeth crocodiles & water-horses which the Greeks call Hippopotami, of which creatures the isle of horses in the mouth of the riuer Zaire taketh denomination. The Hippopotamus or water-horse

*S. Saluador the chiefe citie of Congo.*

*The great riuer of Zaire.*

*Crocodiles.*

*Water-horses.*

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is somewhat tawnie, of the colour of a lion; in the night he comes on lande to feed vpon the grasse, and keepeth in the water all the day time. The Africans tame and manage some of these horses, and they prooue exceeding swift; but a man must beware how he passe ouer deepe riuers with them, for they will sodainly diue vnder water. Also in these riuers of Ethiopia are bred a kinde of oxen, which liue euery night vpon the lande. Here likewise breedeth another strange creature, called in the Congonian language Ambize Angulo, that is to say, a hogge-fish, being so exceeding fatte, and of such greatnes, that some of them weie aboue fiue hundred pound.[48] This abũdance of waters, togither with the heat of the climate, which proceedeth from the neerenes of the sunne, causeth the countrey to be most fruitfull of plants, herbes, fruits, and corne; & much more fertile would it be, if nature were helped forward by the industrie of the inhabitants. Heere also, besides goates, sheepe, deere, Gugelle, conies, hares, ciuet-cats, and ostriches, are great swarmes of tigres, which

*The Zabra.* are very hurtfull both to man and beast. The Zebra or Zabra[49] of this countrey being about the bignes of a mule, is a beast of incomparable swiftnes, straked about the body, legges, eares, and other parts, with blacke, white and browne circles of three fingers broad; which do make a pleasant shew. Buffles, wilde asses, called by the Greekes Onagri, and Dantes (of whose hard skins they make all their targets) range in heards vp and downe the woods.

*The elephant.* Also here are infinite store of elephants of such monstrous bignes, that by the report of sundrie credible persons, some of their teeth do weigh two hundred pounds, at sixteene ounces the pound: vpon the plaines this beast is swifter than any horse, by reason of his long steps; onely he cannot turne with such celeritie. Trees he ouerturneth with the strength of his backe, or breaketh them between his teeth; or standeth vpright vpon his hinder feete, to

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browse vpon the leaues and tender sprigs. The she elephants beare their brood in their wombes two yeeres before they bring foorth yoong ones: neither are they great with yoong, but onely from seuen yeeres to seuen yeeres. This creature is saide to liue 150. yeeres; hee is of a gentle disposition; and relying vpon his great strength, he hurteth none but such as do him iniurie; only he will in a sporting maner gently heaue vp with his snowte such persons as he meeteth. He loueth the water beyond measure, and will stande vp to the mid-body therein, bathing the ridge of his backe, and other parts with his long promuscis or trunke. His skin is fower fingers thicke; and it is reported, that an elephant of this countrey being stricken with a little gunne called Petrera, was not wounded therewith, but so sore brused inwardly, that within three daies after he died. Heere are likewise reported to be mightie adders or snakes of fiue and twentie spannes long, and fiue spans broad, which will swallow vp an whole stagge, or any other creature of that bignes. Neither are they here destitute of Indie-cockes and hens, partridges, feasants, and innumerable birds of praie, both of the lande and of the sea; whereof some diue vnder the water, which the Portugals call Pelicans.

*The isle and hauen of Loanda.*

Ouer against the most southerly part of the said kingdome of Congo, where it confineth with Angola, lyeth an Isle called Loanda, being twentie miles long, and but one mile broad at the most, betweene which and the maine land is the best port of all that Ocean. About this Isle do haunt infinite store of whales, where, notwithstanding no amber at all is found; which is a manifest argument that it proceedeth not from these creatures. Here they fish for certaine little shels, which in Congo and the countries adioyning are vsed in steed of mony. The well-waters of this Isle, when the sea ebbeth, are salte, but when it floweth they are most fresh and sweet. In this Isle[50] the Portugals

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haue a towne from whence they traffique to Congo and Angola: and amongst other commodities, they get euery yeere in those parts about fiue thousand slaues; the custome of which trade belongeth by ancient constitutions vnto the crowne of Portugale.

*Loango.* To the north of Congo vpon the sea coast beginneth the kingdome of Loango tributarie in times past to the king of Congo: It aboundeth with elephants; and the inhabitants called Bramas are circumcised after the Iewish manner.[51]

*Anzichi.* Next vpon them doe border the Anzichi, who are possessed of large countries, namely from the riuer Zaire euen to the deserts of Nubia. They abound with mines of copper, and with sanders both Red, and Gray which are the best; and some are of opinion, that here groweth the right Lignum Aquilæ, which is of so excellent vertue in phisick.[52] They haue one supreme king, with many princes vnder him. They traffique in Congo, and carrie home from thence salt and great shels to be vsed for coine (which are brought thither from the Isle of San Tomé) in exchange of their cloth of the palme tree, and of Iuory: but the chiefe commodities which they part from, are slaues of their owne nation and of Nubia: and the said shels they vse also insteed of Iewels and ornaments. Both they and the Bramas before mentioned do carry for their defence in the warres, certaine targets made of the skin of a beast which in Germany is called Dante:[53] their weapons offensiue be little bowes and shorte arrowes, which they shoot with such wonderfull celerity, as they will discharge twentie one after another, before the first arrow fall to the ground. They haue shambles of mans-flesh as wee haue of beeues and muttons. They eat their enemies which they take in the warres: their slaues which they cannot make away for a good round price, they sell vnto the butchers: and some will offer themselues to the

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slaughter, for the loue of their princes and patrons: so sillie they are, that to do their lordes a pleasure, they will not refuse present death: wherefore the Portugals repose not so much trust in any kinde of slaues as in them: and they are very valiant also in the warres.

But to returne vnto the sea-coast; from the mouth of the riuer Zaire Northward, the land bearing out somewhat more to the west, is framed into three headlands, namely, Cabo primero, Cabo da Caterina, and the cape of Lopo Gonsalues,[54] which is a cape very well knowen in regard of the eminency and outstretching thereof. It lyeth in one degree of southerly latitude. Ouer against which cape within the land do inhabite the people called Bramas in the kingdome of Loango beforementioned. From hence for the space of fiue or sixe degrees, till you come to Punta delgada, or The slender point, the coast lyeth in a manner directly North; most of which tract is inhabited by a nation of Negros called Ambus. North of the said slender point you haue Rio dos Camarones,[55] or The riuer of shrimps, which is full of little Isles; not far from which riuer are The countries of Biafar and Medra, inhabited with people which are addicted to inchantments, witchcrafts, and all kinds of abominable sorceries.

Much more might be said concerning this sixt part of the lower Ethiopia: but because it is in so ample and methodicall a manner described in the historie of Philippo Pigafetta, most iudiciously and aptly Englished by the learned Master *Abraham Hartwell*; I refer the reader thereunto, as to the principal and the very fountaine of all other discourses which haue bin written to any purpose of Congo and the countries adioyning.[56]

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## *Of the countries of Benin, Meleghete, Ghinea, and Sierra Leona.*

WEstward from the countries last mentioned lyeth the kingdome of Benin, hauing a very proper towne of that name, and an hauen called Gurte. The inhabitants liue in Idolatry, and are a rude and brutish nation; notwithstanding that their prince is serued with such high reuerence, and neuer commeth in sight but with great solemnity, & many ceremonies: at whose death his chiefe fauorites count it the greatest point of honour to be buried with him, to the end (as they vainly imagine) they may doe him seruice in another world. This countrie aboundeth with long pepper called by the Portugals Pimienta dal rabo, which is as much to say, as pepper with a tayle: This tailed or long pepper so far excelleth the pepper of the east Indies, that an ounce therof is of more force than halfe a pound of that other. For which cause the kings of Portugale haue done what lay in them, to keep it from being brought into these parts of Europe, least it should too much abase the estimation and price of their Indian pepper. All which notwithstanding there hath bin great quantitie secretly conueied from thence by the Portugals: as likewise the English and French nations, and of late yeeres the Hollanders haue had great traffique into those parts.[57]

*Of this long pepper read Ramusius, vol. 1, fol. 115 pag. 2.*

*The prouinces of Temian, Dauma, and Meleghete.*

Next follow the kingdomes of Temian and Dauma; and lower to the south the prouince of Meleghete, a place very famous and well knowne, in regard of a little red graine which there groweth, being in shape somewhat like to the Millet of Italy, but of a most vehement and firy tast: and these little graines are by the apothecaries called Grana Paradisi. Here also is made of oile and the ashes of the Palme-tree, a kind of sope, which hath double the force of ours. For which cause it is forbidden by the

*Grana Paradisi.*

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Portugals, who haue vpon that coast a little to the east of Cabo das tres puntas, in the northerly latitude of fiue degrees, a strong castle called San Georgio de la Mina, whereunto by way of traffike they draw all the gold and riches of the countries adioining. *The castle of Mina.*

Westward of these lieth the countrie of Ghinea, inhabited by a people which the ancient writers called * Autolatæ, and Ichthyophagi: Ghinea is so named, according to the chiefe citie thereof called Genni, being situate vpon the riuer of Sanega. The people of this countrie towards the sea-coast liue vpon fish; and they of the inland sustain themselues with Lizards and such like creatures; & in some places more temperate their food consisteth of herbes and milke. They conuerse togither in great families; and they fight oftentimes for water and for pastures; neither haue they anie knowledge of learning or liberall arts. So long as the sun continueth in our northern signes, that is, from the xj. of March to the xiij. of September, this people in regard of extreme scorching heat, are constrained all the day time (being ordinarily with them of 12. howers) to retire themselues within their houses, and do all their busines in the night. The countrey in most places is destitute of trees that beare fruite: neither haue the greatest part of the inhabitants any haire on their bodies, saue onely a thicke tuft growing vpon their heads: they sell their children vnto strangers, supposing that their estate cannot possiblie be impaired. Vnto these naturall miseries of the place, you may ad the insupportable mischiefs which are here done by the locustes: for albeit these creatures do infinite harme likewise in all the inner parts of Africa; yet seemeth it that this countrey of Ghinea is their most proper habitation; whither they do often resort in such innumerable swarms, that like a mightie thicke cloud they come raking along in the skie, and afterward falling downe, they couer the face of the

* *Pliny calleth them Autololes.*

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earth, deuouring all things that they light vpon. Their comming towards any place is known two or three daies before by the yellownes of the sunne. But in most places where they haunt, the poore people are reuenged of them by killing and driyng them in the aire for their foode: which custom is commonly vsed by the Arabians and Ethiopians; and the Portugals also haue found vessels full of them vpon the coast of Cambaia, where they do the like mischiefes. They which haue eaten of them affirme that they are of a good taste, and that their flesh (so much as it is) is as white as that of a lobster. These may seem to be al one with those grashoppers which God sent to plague Egypt; and the same kinde of locustes, which the holy prophet *Iohn Baptist* fed vpon in the wilderness.[58]

*Locustes.*

Moreouer along the coasts of Meleghete and Ghinea are diuers small riuers and freshets, containing little water, and running a slow pace: which notwithstanding are the best and pleasantest things that are to be founde in these forlorne countries. For wheresoeuer any little water springeth or runneth, thither do the people resort, partly for the watring of their scorched groũds, & partly to quench their own thirst. Also vpõ these coasts are diuers and sundry headlands which stretch into the sea; as namely The faire cape, The three-pointed cape, The cape of Palmetrees, Cabo da Verga, & Sierra Leona. This cape last mentioned hath an exceeding high mountaine thereupon, which causeth it to be seene a mightie distance off. It seemeth to be the same promontorie which *Hanno* and *Ptolemey* call The chariot of the gods. It is called by the name of a lyon in regard of the dreadfull thunders and lightnings which are continually heard from the top thereof: howbeit neere vnto it are found apes, munkeies, and such other beasts as liue in temperate places.

*Sierra Leona.*

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*Of Cabo verde, Sanega, and Gambra or Gambea.*

NOrthward of Sierra Leona lieth Cabo verde, or the greene cape, called by *Ptolemey* Arsinarium, and being one of the most famous headlands in Africa. It is enuironed with two riuers, namely the riuer of Gambra or Gambea on the south, and the riuer of Senaga[59] on the north ; which last riuer is esteemed to be an arme of Ghir or Niger. Gambea springeth out of the same fountains assigned by *Ptolemey* vnto Niger (which by all the ancient writers is placed heereabout) and out of the lake of Libya. It is larger and deeper then that other of Senaga, and runneth a crooked course, receiuing many lesser riuers thereinto. One hundred and eightie leagues within the mouth of this riuer the Portugals haue a factorie or place of traffique, called The factorie of Cantor. Hither by exchange of sundry wares, they draw the gold of all those countries. In the midde way (as it were) vnto the said factorie, there is a place called the isle of Elephants in regard of the huge numbers of those creatures. The riuer of Senaga is thought to take his original out of the lakes called Chelonides. It containeth certaine Isles, which in regard of their rough and ragged shape are good for nothing, but to breed adders and such like hurtfull things, and these Isles in many places make the riuer vtterly innauigable. About one hundred and fiftie leagues from the mouth thereof, it falleth spouting-wise with such maine force from certaine high cliffes or rockes, that a man may walke drie vnder the streame thereof. The Negros in their language call this place a Bowe. It is reported that Nilus doth the like at his Cataracts or ouerfals. And *Strabo* writeth of certaine riuers of Hircania, which from exceeding steepe and craggie rockes gush with such violence into the Caspian sea, that whole armies may passe vnder them without danger of drowning. Into this riuer of Senaga,

*A factorie of the Portugals.*

*The isle of elephants.*

*A mightie cataract or fall of Senaga.*



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among many riuers vnknowne, falleth one, which passing through a red soile, is itselfe also died red : and whosoeuer drinketh of the waters first of the Red riuer, and after of Senaga, is constrained extremely to vomite. Along the banks of this mightie riuer inhabite the blacke and barbarous nations of the Gialofi,[60] the Tucuroni,[61] the Caraguloni,[62] and the Bagani.[63] Finally it voideth into the sea at two mouths, one of which mouthes is a mile broad. And it is strange to consider, how vpon the south side of this riuer the people are blacke and well proportioned, and the soile pleasant and fertile ; whereas on the north side they are browne and of a small stature, and do inhabite a barren and miserable countrie. In both the said riuers of Gambra and Senaga do breed diuers strange kindes of fishes, and other creatures of the water, as namely crocodiles, sea-horses, and winged serpents ; and hither come to drinke sundry sorts of wilde beasts. The lands comprehended betweene them both, by reason of their yeerely inundation (for from the xv. of Iune they increase fortie daies togither, and are so long time decreasing, after the manner of Nilus) abound with all kinds of graine and pulse wherof the climate is capable, as namely with beanes, pease, millet, &c. but wheate, rie, barley, and grapes cannot there attaine to ripenes and perfection, by reason of ouermuch moisture : saue onely some small quantite of wheat neere the deserts where the Caraguloni inhabite. But their chiefe sustenance is Zaburro, otherwise called Ghinie-wheate or Maiz, which they sowe after the inundation of their riuers, casting some quantitie of sande thereupon to defend it from the heate, which otherwise would scorch the grounde too excessiuely. They drinke the iuice of the palme-tree, which they cut and lance for that purpose : and this iuice not being tempered, it is strong and headie as any wine. Neither are they heere destitute of mightie adders, of lions, leopards, and elephants ; but

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beasts for labour they haue none, saue onely a small kinde of oxen, and goates. The horses which are brought thither by merchants, liue but a short time. The aire, by reason of abundance of lakes bredde by the ouerflowes of their riuers, is moist and grosse. And heere fall most vnholesome and palpable dewes. It raineth in these countries from October till the end of Iuly, euery day about noone, with thunder and lightning.

All the kingdomes and countries by vs before described, from the cape of Buena esperança, to the riuer last mentioned, are inhabited by blacke people. The most northerly are the Gialofi, who spread themselues between the two foresaid riuers for the space of fiue hundred leagues eastward: so that the riuer Senaga is the vtmost northern bound of Negros, or nations extremely blacke; howbeit vpon the bankes thereof are found people of sundry colours, by reason of the varietie of women.

Betweene this riuer of Senaga and Cabo blanco, or the white cape, lieth a countrey called by some Anterote, being all ouer in a manner sandy, barren, lowe, and plaine; neither is there in all this distance any place of account or reckoning, saue onely the isles of Arguin (whereof we will intreat among the isles of Africa) and a territorie of towne sixe daies iourney within the maine, called Hoden. This towne is not walled, but lieth open, and consisteth of the wandring Arabians rude and homely habitations, being notwithstanding a place of Rendeuous or meeting for all such as trauell in Carouans from Tombuto, and other places in the lande of Negros to Barbarie. The principall food of the inhabitants heere, are dates and barly, both which the soile yeeldeth indeed, but not in so plentifull a manner: and they drinke the milke of camels & of other beasts, for wine they haue none at all. These people are Mahumetans, and most deadly enimies to Christians: neither abide they long in any place, but runne rouing and

*Ramusius vol. 1. fol. 99.*



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wandring vp and downe those deserts. They are themselues very populous, and haue abundance of camels, vpon whose backes they carrie copper, siluer, and other commodities from Barbarie to Tombuto, and to the residue of the land of Negros.[64]

From Cabo blanco to the regions of Sus, and Hea (which are the first prouinces described by *Iohn Leo*) excepting a small portion onely of Biledulgerid, you haue nothing but part of the vast, fruitles, & vnhabitable desert of Libya, called by the Arabians Sarra,[65] which stretcheth from the westerne Ocean as farre as the frontiers of Egypt.

Thus from the very bottome of the Red Sea, hauing coasted along the easterne and westerne shores of the most southerly partes of Africa, and briefly described all the principall knowen empires, kingdomes, and regions within that maine, which are left vntouched by our author *Iohn Leo*; let vs now with little or more breuitie prosecute the description of the islands which are by the hand of the omnipotent creator planted round about this ample and spacious continent.

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# A briefe enumeration and description *of all the most famous and knowne Islandes* situate round about the coasts of Africa, which haue beene omitted by IOHN LEO: *beginning first with the most northeasterly, and so by* little and little bringing our selues about the Cape of Buena Esperança neerer vnto Europe.

## *The Islands of the Red Sea.*

OTh the shores of the Red sea, as well on the African as on the Arabian side, are euerie where beset with many small islets and rockes, which lie so thicke togither, that they make the nauigation all along the said coasts to be most dangerous and difficult. *Babelmandel.*

The isles of the Red sea most woorthie to be remembred, ıre these following. Babelmandel[66] a little isle situate in he very mouth of the Red sea, in twelue degrees, con-aineth two leagues in compasse, being from either of the irme lands three miles distant, and standing about twentie ›aces high out of the water. By *Ptolemey* it is called The ›le of Diodorus. Vpon this isle, or one of the continents dioining, are to be hired the most experimẽted pilots for l that narrow sea, euen as far as Suez. And from the ıasterne and westerne side of this islet, *Strabo* reporteth ıat the twofold enterance of the Arabian Gulfe was ırred with a double chaine. More to the north standeth amaran, being about eight leagues from the Arabian ›ast in fifteene degrees of latitude.[67] Vpon this isle are to *The isle of Camaran.*

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be seene great ruines of ancient buildings. It hath one indifferent good hauen, and aboundeth with fresh water, (a thing most precious and acceptable in those parts) with salt, and with cattell. On the other side towards Africa, in fifteene degrees and an halfe, standeth the isle of Dalaqua of about thirtie miles in circuite,[68] which space is almost contained in the length thereof, being a place very famous for the abundance of pearles which are there caught; wherewithall likewise the isle of Mua neere vnto it is richly endowed. Next followeth Mazua[69] in forme like to an halfe moone, and not aboue a bow-shoot distant from the African maine: betweene which isle and the continent, there is an excellent hauen which is now the only porte that *Prete Ianni* hath in all his dominions; for which (as you may read before in the description of the said princes empire) his lieutenant *Barnagasso* is constrained to pay a greate yeerely tribute to the Turke.

*Dalaqua.*

*Mua.*

*Mazua.*

Ouer against Mazua, vpon the firme, standeth the towne of Ercoco. Vpon this little isle are diuers houses of Arabians, built of lime and stone; and others of claie couered with thatch. North of Mazua standeth Suaquen in a certain lake made by the sea, which there insinuateth it selfe within the land, and frameth a most secure and commodious hauen. On this small islet is built the faire and stately city of Suaquen,[70] being almost as large as the isle it selfe; wherein resideth the Turke's lieutenant or Bassa of Abassia.

*The isle, hauen, and citie of Suaquen.*

### *Of the Isle of Socotera and other isles lying without the narrow entrance of the Arabian gulfe.*

WIthout the streight of Babelmandel there are no islands woorthy of mention, saue onely Socotera; which (as *Iohn Barros* supposeth) was of old called by *Ptolemey* Dioscoridis, & lieth in sight of cape Guardafu, which the same author nameth Aromata Promõntorium.

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Being about three-score miles long, and fiue and twentie miles broad, it is diuided with a rough and exceeding high ridge of mountaines, and is subiect vnto most terrible and boisterous windes, which do out of measure dry and parch the same. For which cause, and in regard of the slothfull rudenes of the inhabitants, it is very scarce of victuals: for it yeeldeth neither wheate, rice, wine, nor hony. In the vallies and places of shelter it affoordeth some quantitie of Millet, of dates, and of sundrie kinds of fruits: neither is it altogether destitute of pasture for cattell. It is frequented by merchants for *Cinabre, Sanguis Draconis, and the most excellent Aloës of the world. It hath no hauen of importance. The Portugals are heere possessed of two small townes, one called Coro, and the other Benin; and here in times past the king of Fartac [*A countrey of Arabia Fœlix,*] had a castle and a garrison of soldiers vpon this isle, which castle being taken by the Portugals, was afterward by them abandoned, bicause it quited not the cost. The inhabitants being of a browne colour, and of a good constitution; are in religion a kind of Christians.[71] They hold an opinion that Saint *Thomas* suffred shipwracke vpon this isle, and that of his ship was built a most ancient church, which as yet is to be seene walled round about, with three allies or partitions, and three doores.

* *Or vermillion.*

*Two townes of the Portugales in Socotora.*

Furthermore they liue for the most part in caues or in cabins made of boughes, very farre from the sea. They go apparrelled in course cloth, or in the skins of beastes. In war their weapons are slings, and swordes made of base iron: and the women are as good soldiers as the men. They are much addicted to Magick and inchantments, and doe bring to passe matters incredible. They haue no vse at all of nauigation, nor of traffique, and yet forsooth they esteeme themselues the most noble and worthy people vnder the heauens; as also they are vtterly voide of

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learning: which I doe note, because that such as are learned make but small account of their wisedome.

*The two sisters.* To the North of Socotera are two small Isles which are called the two sisters: the inhabitants whereof being of an oliue-colour, liue without lawe, and haue no conuersation with any other people. The commodities of these Islets are Iuorie, amber, Sanguis draconis, Aloës, and a kind of pretious stones called Nizzolij.

Likewise ouer against Socotera are two other Islets, one called the Isle of men, and the other the Isle of women, being distant thirtie miles asunder, and fiue miles from Socotera. They are so termed, because that in the one dwell men onely, and in the other women. Howbeit they visite one another at certaine seasons: but they cannot stay one in the Isle of another aboue three moneths, in regarde of a secret qualitie of the ayer which is contrary to either sexe. A matter (if it be true) most strange and admirable.

## *Of the Isles lying in the sea called Sinus Barbaricus, ouer against the Easterne and Southeasterne shore of Africa.*

ALl along from the cape of Guardafu to the cape of Buena Esperança are found sundry Islands, partly dispersed heere and there in the sea, and partly adioining vpon the firme land. Such as are far into the sea, are the greatest part vnhabited, as namly, the Isle of Don Garçia, The *three and The *seuen brethren, As rocas partidas, the Isles of Sant Brandan, and those of Mascarenha, of Sant Francis, of Santa Apollonia, of Iohn de Lisboa, of Cosmoledo: and betweene the great Isle of Saint Laurence and the maine, the Isles of Do Natal or of the natiuitie, as likewise the three Isles of Comoro, with those of Alioa, of Spirito Santo, and of sant Christopher.[72]

** Isles which are not inhabited.*

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*Concerning the islet of Mobaça, Quiloa, & Moçambique read more at large in the discourse of Zanguebar before set downe, whereas I thought it meetest to intreat of them, being (as it were) certaine fragments of the maine, & hauing large territories therof subiect vnto them.*

But of those which the vicinity of the firme land hath made more noble and frequented, the first that offereth it selfe to our consideration, is the Isle of Mombaza in foure degrees of southerly latitude, cut out by a certaine chanel or arme of the sea, which deuideth the same from the maine of Africa: in compasse it containeth twelue miles; and at the entrance of the saide chanel, vpon a downe, standeth the city of Mombaça, built very handsomely after the Arabian fashion. Somewhat farther from the continent are situate the Isles of Pemba, Zanzibar, and Monfia[73] inhabited by Negros; the greatest of which is Zanzibar, the prince whereof is called by the name of a king; and it lyeth vnder sixe degrees of south latitude, being from the main ten leagues distant. But the soueraigne of all these Isles was Quiloa,[74] inhabited like the rest, with Mahumetans of little bodies and abiect mindes. It aboundeth with rice, millet, cattel, woods of palme-trees, limons, orenges, & sugar-canes; whereof notwithstanding they are ignorant how to make sugar. The city standeth vpon the sea-shore ouer against the firme land: it is built of pure marble, and the streetes are very narrow: a thing common among the Arabians, whereby they vse to defend themselues, after the enemie hath once entered their townes. From this Isle to Moçambique are about an hundred leagues. Without the porte lieth Misa, and three miles off Songo and Manga inhabited by Moores. Next follow As Ilhas do Açotatado, or The isles of the scourged, bicause here a certaine pilot that was a Moore, who had determined to attacke the whole fleete of *Vasco da Gama* receiued punishment. Concerning Moçambique called by *Ptolemey* and other ancient writers Prassia, we haue intreated before. Fower miles from thence lie the desert isles of Saint George: and then the isles of Angoscia[75] inhabited by Moores. These are stored with indifferent quantitie of victuals and here vpon an east winde they gather plentie of

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*Plentie of Ambergrise.* Ambergrise. An hundred and fiftie miles from Cabo dos corrientes, lieth A Ilha das vacas, or The isle of Cowes, with a castle thereupon, and store of good water. As Ilhas llanas, or The plaine isles are not woorth the speaking of. A Ilha da cruz, otherwise called Ilha das fontanhas, was the farthest limite of *Bartholomew Diaz* his nauigation, who was the first Portugale that euer doubled the cape of Buena esperança, and hauing doubled it, returned backe without discouering any farther.

## *Of the Isle of Saint Laurence, otherwise called Madagascar.*

THis isle called by the Portugales The isle of Sant Laurence, by the naturall inhabitans Madagascar, by *Paulus Venetus* Magastar, by *Ptolemey* Menuthias, and by *Plinie* Cerne, is accounted one of the greatest, noblest, and richest in the whole world. About the midst thereof it approcheth towards the maine of Africa, in forme of an elbowe, being distant from thence an hundred threescore and ten miles. The extreames of this isle are very farre separate from the saide maine, and especially that which stretcheth toward the northeast. The whole isle containeth in bredth fower hundred and fowerscore, in length one thousand two hundred, and in compasse fower thousand miles; so that in bignes it farre exceedeth Italy, though it be not so well inhabited and manured. Situate it is beyond the Equator in seuenteene degrees, and stretcheth from thence to sixe and twentie degrees and an halfe of southerly latitude. It is plentifully endowed with all things needfull for mans vse: for it yeeldeth cotton, Millet, Rice, Potatos, sweete orenges, sugar-canes, and sundry kindes of pulse: as likewise, amber, Iette, siluer, copper, red sanders, saffron, a spice somewhat like vnto cloues, and some quantitie of ginger. Moreouer, heere are lions, leopards, stags, roe-deere, goates, kine, sheepe, and

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other beastes both tame and wilde. Heere are likewise innumerable elephants,[76] so that from hence is conueied great quantitie of iuorie. They haue also great store of camels, whose flesh the inhabitants eate for the holesomenes thereof. The people (except some few Moores vpon the coast) are idolaters, of colour black, with curled haire, very barbarous, and in fashions resembling much the Cafres. They go naked all saue their priuities, which they couer with cloth of cotton: and they vse in the warre certaine crooked staues headed with bone. The Iesuits in their letters report, that in one part of this island there are white people found; who (as they affirme) are descended from the people of China; whereby may be gathered the great length of the Chinians nauigations, and the largenes of their empire. The Portugals sailing towards India in due time, do passe betweene this great isle and the firme land; but if the season groweth towards winter, they holde on their course (as themselues report) on the backe-side thereof. In these two courses of nauigation they haue found, and daily do discouer sundrie isles, but of small account, part whereof we haue mentioned before. Amongst others, as it were ouer against Moçambique, lieth on a certaine strand or shold an isle called Langane of a reasonable bignes, with a great riuer therein, being inhabited by Moores. And the farthest toward the west are those isles which the Portugals call Os Romeros. On the northeast part of this isle is the Bay of Antogill, being one of the safest and most commodious harbours in the world.[77]

### *Of the Isles of the Ethiopian Sea about the cape of Buena esperança.*

THis sea I take to be most exceeding deepe, because it hath fewer Isles then the former, and those few which it hath are but little ones. The first that was

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discouered on this side the cape of Buena Esperança is that of Don Aluarez,[78] situate in thirtie degrees and an halfe. And to the northwest of that is the Isle of Tristan d' Acunna beeing distant 1500. miles from the cape, and beyond the Equinoctiall eight and thirtie degrees; which beeing of a round forme, containeth in compasse fiftie leagues. It is full of birdes, and especially of sea-crowes or cormorants, and round about it lie foure other small islets. The marriners hold, that neere vnto this isle, as vnto that of Bermuda, there are continual stormes and tempestes. Not far from the main are certaine dry and rockie isles, and others of none account.

### *The Isles of Santa Helena, and of the Ascension.*

NExt followeth in the height of sixteeene degrees of southerly latitude the isle of Santa Helena, discouered by *Iuan da Noua*, being so fitly and commodiously situate for such as returne home from the east Indies into Europe, as it seemeth there of purpose to haue beene planted by God for the furtherance of this voiage, and for the refreshing and comfort of nauigators. In compasse it containeth nine miles, and hath a most perfect healthfull aire, and sundry freshets of excellent water. The soile is of a red colour, and like vnto ashes; it giueth way to ones footing like sand, and a man may shake euery tree vpon the isle. Heere the kings of Portugall haue enacted, that none may remaine to inhabite, except it be sometime two or three sicke persons for the recouerie of their health; to the end that the fleets may heere plentifully and of free cost furnish themselues with fresh victuals, fruits, and water. So that when they arriue, they vsually plant or sow some one thing or other, which presently springeth and groweth to ripenes; and then the seed falling into the earth, it multiplieth of it selfe. Heere are woods of Ebàn and Cedar, with infinite store of limons, orenges, and all sorts

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of fruits; as likewise hogs, geese, hens, partridges, feasants, Guinie-cocks, and other like creatures brought thither by the Portugals out of Europe, or from other countries. In sailing from Portugall toward India it is not so easily found: but in their returne home they do heere in fewe daies cure all their diseases, and relieue their wants: and heere to their vnspeakable solace and recreation they hunt, foule, and fish, and prouide themselues of water, wood, and all things necessarie. To the west thereof appeere in the sea the isles of Santa Maria, and of the Trinitie, which serue for signes vnto the mariners. To the northwest of this isle, towards the coast of Brazil, are the isles of Ascension, so called, bicause they were first discouered by *Tristan Acunna* in his returne from the Indies vpon Ascension day in the yeere 1508. They are all vnhabited and desert, and haue vpon them infinite swarmes of a kinde of fowles of the bignes of duckes.

*The isles of Ascension.*

## *Of the Isles of Loanda, Nobon, and Saint Thomas.*

HArd vpon the firme land of the south part of Congo, is situate the isle of *Loanda before mentioned. And ouer against the cape of Lopo Gonsalues in a manner, lieth the small isle of Nobon, being a rockie and desolate place, but of great importance for fishing; for which cause it is frequented by the inhabitants of Saint Thomas isle. This isle of Saint Thomas being an hundred and fower-score miles distant from the maine, is of a round forme, containing threescore Italian miles from side to side, and an hundred and fower-score miles also in compasse: of which isle (bicause it is situate iust vnder the Equinoctiall, so that the horizon thereof passeth by both the poles) it will not be from our purpose to intreat somewhat at large; to the end we may the better vnderstand the qualitie and temperature of such places as are seated in

* *Concerning this isle read more at large in the description of Congo.*

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that part of the world. This isle when it was first discouered was nothing else but a woode of vnprofitable trees, with their boughs turning crookedly vpward. The aire is extremely hot: in the moneths of March and September, when the sunne passeth perpendicularly ouer, it raineth heere out of measure, and in other moneths heere falleth onely a moist dewe which watereth the ground. In the verie midst it hath a woodie mountaine, which is continually ouershadowed with a thick cloud, which cloud so moistneth the trees that grow in great abundance vpon this mountaine, that from hence droppeth water sufficient for the watering of al their fields of sugar-canes. By how much the sun is more perpendicular ouer this isle, by so much is the aire more cloudie & darke; and contrariwise, the farther it is distant from perpendicularitie, the cleerer and brighter is the skie. In the moneths of December, Ianuarie, and Februarie, such as are borne in Europe, can very hardly walke or mooue themselues for faintnes: and all the rest of the yeere, once in eight or ten daies, they seeme to be taken with an hot and a cold fit of an ague, which continueth vpon them for tow howers togither. They are thrice or oftner let bloud euerie yeere: and few of them liue aboue fiftie yeeres; but their Negros remaine more than an hundred yeers aliue. They which newly arriue there, are commonly surprized with a most dangerous feauer, which holdeth them for twentie daies togither. And these are let bloud, without any reckoning of ounces. Heere blow no windes at all, but onely from the southeast, south, and southwest, which windes stirre not in the moneths of December, Ianuarie, and Februarie, and therefore these moneths are most extremely hot. But in Iune, Iuly, and August, they blow a fresh gale. In this isle the French euill, and the scuruies are verie rife. The soile is of a meane colour betweene red and yellow, being clammie like claie, and by reason of the continuall nightly dewes,

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as soft and pliable as waxe, and of incredible fertility. Besides diuers other good ports, it hath one principall among the rest, belonging to the chiefe townie or citie called *Pauoasan, consisting of aboue seuen hundred families, and inhabited by Portugals, and into the saide port runneth a little riuer of excellent water.

** Or perhaps Pouaçaon, which (as I coniecture) may be all one with Poblacion in Spanish, which signifieth a Colonie or towne.*

To euery of the Ingenios or sugar-houses (which in all may amount to the number of seuentie) do belong Negro slaues, for the planting of their canes and the dressing of their sugars, to some, two hundred, and to others, three hundred a piece, who liue vpon Maiz or Ghiny-wheat: the number of which slaues is so great, that oftentimes they rebell, to the great domage of the Portugals. They haue good sustenance also by meanes of a root, called there Igname, but in the west Indies Batata.[79] Wheat that is heere sowen, groweth not to any ripenes or graine, but is resolued altogether into grasse. They make wine of the Palme-tree. Vines prosper nothing kindely in this place, except it be heere and there one, planted by an house-side, and attended with great diligence. They bring forth clusters at the same time, some ripe, some greene, and blossomes onley; and they beare fruit twice in the yeere, as doe the fig-trees likewise. They haue sugar-canes ripe all the yeere long: but melons onely in Iune, Iuly, and August. No tree that beareth fruit with a stone or kernell will fructifie or prosper in this place. Here are found all ouer the Isle certaine crabs or creuises like vnto them of the sea; heere be likewise gray parots, and infinite other birds of diuer sortes; and in the sea are mightie store of whales, especially toward the firme land. The principall riches of this isle consist in sugars, whereof there groweth great abundance. The sugar-canes are planted and cut euery moneth, and in fiue months they grow to ripenes, but by reason of the moistnes of the ayer, they neither prooue hard nor white, but are of a reddish colour. The tenths

*Seuentie Ingenios in San Tomé.*

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which belong to the king amount to the number of 12. or 14. thousand Arrouas, euery Arroua being one and thirtie Italian pound-weight.[80] In times past there were fortie ships yeerely laden therewith: but now of late certaine wormes which eat the roots of the canes, or (as others think) white antes or mice, haue so mightily impaired the growth of this commodity, that now there are not aboue sixe ships laden therewith. The sugar-canes, after they be once ground, they giue vnto their hogges, wherewith they prooue at, and their flesh is very sauory. For returne of sugars, the merchants of Europe carry thither meale, wine, swordes, oile, cheese, hides, drinking glasses, and certaine shels, which there and in the countries adioining they vse instead of money. Of the coniunction betweene the men of Europe and the Negro women are bred a generation of browne or tawnie people.

This Isle of Saint Thomas together with the principal towne and castle, was in October 1599 taken by part of the same fleet of Hollanders, which not fullie foure moneths before had sacked the isles, castles and townes of Gran Canaria and Gomera.

### *Of the Isle del principe, and that of Fernando Po.*

THe Isle del principe[81] or of the prince, situate in three degrees of Northerly latitude, and one hundred twentie miles on this side the isle of Sant Thomas, is little in quantitie, but excellent in qualitie: for which cause it is thoroughly tilled and manured. The reuenues thereof (which consist the greatest part in sugars) were in times past allowed vnto the prince of Portugale; whereupon it was named The isle of the prince.

This Isle was in the yeere 1598 taken by certaine ships of war sent forth vnder the conduct of *Iulianus Clerehagen* at the charges of *Balthasar Musheron* of Camphere in

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Zeland merchant, who had the conquest thereof giuen him by patent from Prince *Maurice*, and the States generall of the vnited prouinces.

That of *Fernando Po*[82] hath no other matter of speciall note, saue onely a certaine lake which is the originall of sundry freshets of sweete and holesome water, which make the island to be most pleasant. It seemeth so beautifull to the first discouerer thereof, that he termed it Ilha fermosa,[83] or The faire isle.

To the west of these two isles are situate the isle of Sant Matthew, and that of Santa Cruz;[84] and afterward hauing passed the Equinoctial, you come to the isle of Sant Paule,[85] and the isle of conception, both which were discouered by *Pedro Aluarez Cabral* in the yeere 1501.

## *Of the isles of Cabo verde.*

NExt vnto Cape verde it selve stand The Barbacene[86] which are seuen small isles replenished with greene trees, and full of strange birds vnknowne to vs; and yet are they vtterly voide of inhabitants. But those that are called the isles of Cape verde (which by ancient authors are thought to haue bin named Gorgones, or Gorgades, or Hesperides) are nine[87] in number, and are situate betweene Cabo verde and Cabo blanco. They were first discouered by *Antonio di Nolli* a Genoway, and began in like sort to be peopled, in the yeere of our Lord 1440.[88] Albeit there are none of them now inhabited, but onely the isle of Sant Iago,[89] and Isla del fogo or The burning isle. The principall of them all is Sant Iago being seuentie miles long, whereon the Portugals haue a faire and strong towne called Ribera grande, with a riuer running through it, and a commodious and secure hauen: it is very strongly seated betweene two mountaines, and consisteth of fiue hundred families at the least. The riuer (which springeth two

*This towne was taken by Sir Francis Drake 1585, and by Sir Anthonie Sherley 1596.*



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leagues from the city) is beautified vpon the bankes thereof with Cedars, Orenge-trees, and diuers other plants, amongst which the Palme tree of India that beareth nuts, prospereth exceeding well. The hearbes of Europe grow here as naturally as in their original soile; howbeit the seeds thereof must euery yeere be brought out of Spaine. The isle is generally vneuen and mountainous: but the valleis are passing fertile, and thoroughly inhabited: and here is sowed abundance of rice and Saburro, which groweth to ripenes in fortie daies. Howbeit the soile will beare no wheat. Here is store of cotton also, the cloth whereof is dispersed along the coast of Africa. The sheegotes here, as likewise in all the isles adiacent, bring forth three and more kids at a birth, euery foure moneths. When the sunne is in Cancer, it raineth here in a manner without ceasing.[90]

To the west of Sant Iago stand the isles of Fogo and Braua being but of small importance (albeit that of Fogo is in some parts thereof inhabited) and to the North of the same is situate the isle of Maio, where there is a lake of two leagues long, which is full of salt;[91] the which is a common thing in all these islands; but in one, more then in any of the other, in that it is full of such like salt-pits, and is therefore called The island of salt, being destitute of all other liuing things, saue onely of wild gotes. The isle of Buena vista hath a name contrary to the quality; for it is without all shew of beauty. Of the others I haue nothing woorthie the obseruation.

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### *Of the Isles of Arguin.*

A Little to the south or the backside of Cabo blanco, within a certaine gulfe or baie which entereth thirtie miles into the maine, lie the isles of Arguin, which were discouered in the yeere 1443,[92] so called after the name of the principall of them, which hath great store of fresh water, whereof all the residue are destitute. Heere the king of Spaine hath a fortresse, for the traffique of gold and other rich commodities of those countries. These isles are sixe or seuen in number, all little ones, being inhabited by the Azanaghi, who liue of fish, whereof there is plentie in that baie. They go to sea in certaine small botes which they call Almadies. The names of the other isles (as farre as I coniecture) are The isle of Penguins, The isles of Nar, Tider, and Adeget.

### *Of the Isles in the Atlantick Ocean, and first of the Canaries.*

FOr so the isles named of olde *Insulæ fortunatæ* (which euer since the decay of the Romaine empire, till within these two hundred yeeres, lay vndiscouered) are at this present called. They are in number twelue, (although the ancient writers make mention of but sixe) that is to say, Canaria, Lançarotta, Fuerte ventura, Hierro, Palma, Gomera, Santa Clara, Isla de lobos, La Roca, Gratiosa, Alegrança, and Infierno. They generally abound with barly, sugar, hony, goates, cheese, hides, and Orchel,[93] being a herbe commodious to die cloth withall, and whereof they make great merchandise. Amongst other beasts they haue also camels. The natural inhabitants of the countrey are of a good disposition, and notable agilitie ; but before they



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were discouered, they were so grosse and rude, as they knewe not the vse of fire.[94] They beleeued in one creatour of the world, who punished the euill, and rewarded the good; and in this point they all consented, but in other matters they were very different. They had no iron at all, but yet esteemed it much when any came to their hands, for the vse thereof. They made no accoũt of gold or siluer, iudging it a folly to esteem of that mettal, which could not serue for mechanicall instruments. Their weapons were stones and staues. They shaved their heads with certaine sharpe stones like to flint. The women would not willingly nurse their owne children, but caused them to be suckled by goates. They were and are at this day delighted with a kinde of dance which they vse also in Spaine and in other places, and because it tooke originall from thence, it is called The Canaries. From hence also they bring certaine birds which sing at all times of the yeere. The greatest of all these isles is the *Gran Canaria, containing fower-score and ten miles in circuit, and it hath to the number of nine thousand inhabitants. Tenerif is not altogether so great. This is esteemed one of the highest islands in the world, by reason of a mountaine therein of the forme of a diamond, being (as it is reported) fifteene leagues high,[95] & it may be seene more then three-score leagues off. Hierro hath neither spring nor well, but is miraculously furnished with water by a cloud which ouer-spreadeth a tree, from whence distilleth so much moisture, as sufficeth both for men and cattell. This cloud ariseth an hower or two before the sunne, and is dissolued two howers after sunne rising. The water falleth into a ponde made at the foote of the tree. The isle of Palma is little, but beautifull, and abundant in sugar, wine, flesh, and cheese: wherefore such ships as go from Spaine to Terra firma, and Brasil, do there ordinarily prouide themselues of fresh victuall. It is from Lisbon a thousand miles by

** This isle with the principall towne and castles was sacked by the Hollanders in Iune Anno 1599.*

*The Pike of Tenerif.*

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sea, being much subiect to tempests, and especially those which come from the northwest.

Of these islands Lançarota, Hierro, and Gomera are in the hands of priuate men: the others belong to the crowne.

### *Of the Isles of Madera and of Puerto Santo.*

MAdera is the greatest and most principall of all the isles in the Atlantick Ocean. It standeth in two and thirtie degrees and an halfe, fortie miles to the south-west of Puerto santo. So it was called, because at the first discouerie thereof it was all ouergrowen with mightie thick woods. Wherfore, to waste the said woods, and to make it fit to be manured, the first discouerers set them on fire, which continued burning (as some report) for the space of certaine yeeres together: whereupon it grew so exceeding fertile, that of corne it yeeldeth sixtie folde for one: and for a certaine space the fifte part of the sugars amounted to threescore thousand Arrouas (one of which Arrouas containeth fiue and twentie pounds of sixteene ounces the pound) but now it cometh not to the one halfe of that reckoning. This isle containeth in compasse an hundred & sixtie miles. It is diuided into foure regions or quarters, that is to say, Comerico, Santa Cruz, Funcial, and Camara de los Lobos. It aboundeth with water: and besides diuers and sundry fountaines, it hath eight small riuers which make it as fruitfull and pleasant as a garden. It yeeldeth euery thing in such perfection, that *Cadamosta* (in regard of their excellency) affirmeth all commodities which are there gathered, to be gold. It produceth infinite store of fruits, excellent wines, and sugars which cannot be matched. Heere is likewise great abundance of cedars, whereof are made fine chestes and other works of account: for which purpose there are diuers sawing milles vpon the foresaid riuers. This isle is

*Madera in Spanish signifieth wood or timber.*

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very scarce of oile and of corne. The head or principall citie hereof is Funciall, being the seat of an archbishop who hath 8000. ducates of reuenue. Here are two fortresses built which command the hauen.

*Puerto Santo, the principall towne whereof was taken by sir Amias Preston* 1596.

Fortie miles to the northeast of Madera lieth the isle of Puerto santo, so called bicause it was discouered vpon the day of all saints, in the yeere 1428. It containeth in compasse fifteene miles, and aboundeth with oxen, wilde swine, and honie, and yeeldeth wheat sufficient for the vse of the inhabitants. Heere groweth a fruite in bignes and shape like vnto a cherry, but of a yellow colour. The tree that beareth this fruit being cut neere the roote with certaine strokes of an hatchet, putteth foorth the yeere following a kinde of gum which is called Sanguis Draconis.[96]

*The woonderful increase of one shee-conie.*

The generation of one shee-cony bigge with yoong, brought hither out of Portugale at the first inhabiting of this isle, did in short time so exceedingly increase, that the inhabitants were quite out of hope euer to repaire the ruine and waste which they committed. At this present there is a small isle neere vnto Puerto santo which breedeth nothing but conies.

Vnto all these might be added such isles as lie neere the African coast within the streights of Gibraltar: the principall whereof (as namely Pennon or The little rocke ouer against Velles de Gumera, with the isle of Gerbi, &c.) bicause they are largely described by *Iohn Leo*, I hold it a matter meerely vaine and superfluous in this place to stande vpon them.

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## *An approbation of the historie ensuing, by me* RICHARD HAKLVYT.

BEing mooued to publish mine opinion as touching this present Historie of *Iohn Leo*; I do hold and affirme it to be the verie best, the most particular, and methodicall, that euer was written, or at least that hath come to light, concerning the countries, peoples, and affairs of Africa. For which cause, and knowing well the sufficiencie of the translator, my selfe was the first and onely man that perswaded him to take it in hand. Wherein how diligently and faithfully he hath done his part, and how he hath enlarged and graced this Geographicall historie out of others, the best ancient and moderne writers, by adding a description of all those African maine lands and isles, and other matters verie notable, which *Iohn Leo* himselfe hath omitted: I referre to the consideration of all iudiciall and indifferent Readers.

*Richard Hakluyt.*

VNto this approbation of master *Richard Hakluyt*, I holde it not altogither amisse to adioine the testimonies of certaine moderne writers, the most approoued and famous for their skill in Geographie and historie, which they haue also purposely set downe in commendation of this author of ours *Iohn Leo*.

First therefore master *Iohn Baptista Ramusius*, Secretarie to the State of Venice, and a man of singular iudgement and diligence in these matters, in his epistle Dedicatorie before the third edition of his first volume of voiages, speaking of the manifold difficulties which he

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vnderwent to bring the important discourses therein, to light, writteth vnto learned *Fracastorius* in manner following.

*Oltra che gli essemplari che mison venute alle mani, &c.*

MOreouer (faith he) those copies which haue come to my hands, haue been extremely fowle and vncorrect; a matter sufficient to discourage the minde of any man, though neuer so forward and resolute, were it not sustained by considering what vnspeakable delight these discourses will breed vnto all those that are studious in Geography; and most especially this of Africa written by *Iohn Leo.* Concerning which part of the world, euen till these our daies, we haue had no knowledge in a manner out of any other authour, or at leastwise neuer any information so large, and of so vndoubted truth. But what do I heere speake of the delight which those that are learned and studious shall reape heereby? As though it were not a matter which will affoord also very much satisfaction vnto the greatest Lords and Princes? Whom it concerneth more then any other to know the secrets and particularities of this African part of the world, togither with the situations of all the regions, prouinces, and cities thereof, and the dependences, which the princes and people haue one towards another. For albeit they may haue some aduertisements and instructions from others that haue personally trauailed these countries, & may think their writings & discourses to be very large; yet I am well assured, that hauing once read this booke of *Iohn Leo*, and throughly considered the matters therein contained and declared, they will esteeme the relations of all others, in comparison of this, to be but briefe, vnperfect, and of little moment: so great will be the fruit which to their exceeding contentment, all readers shall reape heereby, &c. Thus farre *Ramusius.*

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## Abraham Ortelius *before his generall mappe of Africa hath these wordes.*

*Ex recentioribus, &c.*

AMong the late writers (for your more perfect knowledge of Africa) you must read *Aloisius Cadamosta, Vasco da Gama,* and *Francis Aluarez,* who trauailed Ethiopia; *Sed omnium accuratissime &c.* but of all others you haue it most exactly described by *Iohn Leo.*

## *Also the same author before his map of Barbary and Biledulgerid.*

BVt (saith he) concerning these regions and people, you shall finde a most exquisite description in the Historie of *Iohn Leo,* &c.

## *The opinion of* IOHN BODIN *in the fourth chapter of his method of reading Histories concerning this our author.*

*Ita quoque Leo Afer, genere Maurus, &c.*

SO likewise *Leo Afer* by descent a More, borne in Spaine, in religion a Mahumetan, and afterward a Christian, hauving by continuall iournies trauelled almost ouer all Africa; as also ouer all Asia minor, and a good part of Europe, was taken by certaine pirates, and presented vnto pope *Leo* the tenth: vnder whom he translated into Italian all those things which with incredible studie and diligence he had written in the Arabick toong, concerning Africa, the manners, lawes, and customes of the African people, and the situation and true description of the whole countrey. Their militarie discipline he lightly

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passeth ouer: and briefly mentioneth the conflicts and victories of famous warriours, without any orations or ornaments of speech, rather like a Geographer then a Chronicler: and with a perpetuall delight of new and strange things, he doth (as it were) perforce detaine his Reader, &c. And a little after he addeth: *Profecto vnus est ex omnibus*, &c. Certes of all others this is the onely man, by whom Africa, which for a thousand yeeres before had lien buried in the barbarous and grosse ignorance of our people, is now plainly discouered and laide open to the view of all beholders.

## Antonius Posseuinus *de historicis sect.* 7. *cap.* 2.

*Sed & perdignaest lectu*, &c.

ALso the Historie of *Leo Afer* the Geographer is most worthie to be read, bicause it containeth an exact description of all the regions and people of Africa; and it hath beene published in Italian and French.

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# NOTES TO PORY'S PREFACE, GENERALL DESCRIPTION, ETC.

(1) Timbuktu.

(2) See Introduction.

(3) See Introduction. Pory exaggerates the number of translations.

(4) Most of the maps up to a very recent time have had Leo's names and positions inscribed on them.

(5) Zaga or Tsaga Za-ab, "the Grace of the Father", accompanied the Portuguese Embassy, the principal members of whom were Dom Rodriguez de Lima ; Father Francisco Alvarez, who wrote the work to which Pory refers, and João Bermudez, the physician and secretary. The Envoy returned to Lisbon in 1526. Bermudez was, however, detained by the Negûs.—Markham, *The Abyssinian Expedition*, p. 17.

(6) "Os picos fragosos, cio è le punte aspere." This phrase does not, however, refer to any particular mountains : but from the context may have been suggested by the Lange Berg, the Langkloof Berg, and other ranges of the East Coast north of Cape Agulhas (or Hagulhas, as De Barros spells the name) and south of Zanzibar, his narrative being very brief.

(7) There is no mountain in this part of Africa fit to be called Θεῶν Ὄχημα, the "Chariot of the Gods". Ptolemy more accurately places it near the site of the Cameroons Peak.

(8) The "Mountains of the Moon" in the older maps figuring as a range extending across the continent from Abyssinia to the Gulf of Guinea, and then after vanishing from this position to re-appear in Abyssinia, in Kenia and Kilimanjaro, and in the so-called Kong Mountains, have been strenuously claimed by Mr. Stanley as Ruwenzori. This theory has quite as little in its favour as the previous ones, and is not even supported by the old maps adduced in proof by its originator. Peters considers that they are the crescent-shaped range in Unyamwezi, or the "Land of the Moon"; and Baumann is quite convinced that he has discovered them in the precipitous wooded hills

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in Urundi, which form the watershed between the Rufizi and the Kagera. The natives know them as the "Mountains of the Moon"—Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, vol. ii, pp. 267-288; Peters, *New Light on Dark Africa*, p. 419; Ravenstein, *Scott. Geog. Magazine*, 1891, p. 306; Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, p. 297; Burton, *Journ. R. G. S.*, 1859, p. 278; *Geog. Journ.*, vol. i, 1893, p. 228. Peters, however, derived his idea from Beke, who broached it as early as 1846. I have discussed this question in *The Story of Africa*, vol. iii, pp. 63-65.

(9) The lake which plays so large a part in all maps up to the era of the discoveries of Burton, Speke, and Livingstone, was doubtless a vague embodiment of floating tales about Nyassa, or the lake out of which the Zambesi flowed, the Shire branch being taken as the main river. "Zembere" or "Zambre" is likely enough a corruption of "Zambesi". But none of the early authorities (De Encisco, De Barros, Do Couto, Pigafetta, Dos Santos, gave any name to the lake.—Cooley, *Inner Africa Laid Open*, pp. 65 *et seq.*

(10) All this is, of course, now very ancient geography, though, until the contrary was demonstrated, Baker insisted on Tanganyika being a Nile source, and to the last day of his life, Livingstone was searching for some Nile tributary, as we now know, far outside the Nile Basin. The speculations of the ancient geographers were therefore by no means more wide of the mark than those of the modern before the hydrography of Central Africa was elucidated, if, indeed, they were not more reasonable.

(11) The Mauri—or Moors—were the Berbers. The Spanish term, Al Arabes, is indifferently applied to them and the Arabs. "Mori" is the more common appellation.

(12) Outside the Strait of Bab el mandeb, or "Straits of Mecca", neither Strabo nor the Ptolemies knew much. If the legend has even a semblance of truth, it refers more likely to the Gulf of Suez. The "Isle of Babelmandeb" is Perim.

(13) The term Troglodytæ was applied by Agatharchides of Cnidus (*cir.* 115 B.C.), who was tutor to Ptolemy Sotor II, to the people inhabiting the mountains bordering the western side of the Red Sea, at some distance in the interior, from their living in caves, and the term Troglodytic Coast to the western shore. Though less barbarous than the Ichthyophagi of the littoral, they went almost naked, and had wives in common, put to death the infirm and aged, and drank the blood and milk and ate the flesh of their extensive herds of cattle. Weeded of the customary amount of fable, these people were perhaps the ancestors of the present Arabised tribes.

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(14) Grodol, Ghorondol, Chorondol, as variously spelled; Jebel Attak is not now a harbour, but was long a favourite among the many places identified as the point from which the Children of Israel crossed the Red Sea.

(15) Kosseir, Chosair, Chossir.

(16) Suakin, Suakem, Zuaquin, Suaquen.

(17) Arkiko.

(18) Massuah, the Matzua of the early Portuguese invaders under Christovão da Gama in 1542.

(19) "*John Leon* and *Sanutus* after him, esteems *Dancala* or *Dangala*, the chief of the Kingdom 'of Nubia' seated on the Nile."—Blome, *A Geographical Description, etc., Affrica*, p. 52. But here there seems a confusion. For Leo's "*Dangala*" (Book VII) is evidently the modern Dongola, while Dancala or Dancali, with its Red Sea port of Vela (Asab?), is the Danakul or Adal country. The anonymous compiler of the map attached to Pory's translation marks both "Dangala" and "Dāgale". In Sanson's map (1656), of which Blome's is a copy "rendered into English", "Dancala" is placed on the Nile, and Dangali near the Red Sea, between "Arquico" and "Zeila".

(20) Cairo.

(21) As will be seen in due course, this powerful kingdom first mentioned by Leo is what the Bornu people call Bulala.

(22) Libyan Desert. "Gorham is on the *Nile* and on the coast of the Isle *Gueguere*. *Sanutus* makes a Kingdom, a *Desert*, and a *People* of this name, and extends them almost the length of the Isle *Gueguere*: not making any mention of the City of this name, nor *John Leon* of *Affrica*, nor the *Arab* of *Nubia* [Edrisi], nor *Vincent Blanck*, who saith he has been in these quarters, and speaks only of the *Desert* of *Gorham*. Other authors make mention of this City, and describe it on the *Nile*. *Sanutus* saith that there are Emeralds in these mountains, which bounds *Gorham* on the South."—Richard Blome, *A Geog. Description of the Four Parts of the World* (1670), *Affrica*, p. 52. "Gorham" or "Gorhan" is clearly Kordofan. Gueguere, or Guengare, is Meroë (Pory, *ut supra*), which is not an island proper, though so called by all writers who blindly followed the assumptions of Ptolemy. Meroë, the only town near, is small and of no importance. It is on the right bank of the river. Here camels are got for crossing the Bahida Desert to Berber. There are, however, remains of two temples at Jebel Barkal, and pyramids at Dankelah, which may account for the legend.

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(23) *Santalum album*—but not really a native of Africa.

(24) Godjam, a province south of Lake Dembea.

(25) The Anzichi were understood to inhabit the Anziko country on the Zaire or Congo opposite Sundi. Their capital was Monsol, which D'Anville placed fully 700 miles from what must have been its true position. Anziko and all its derivations mean simply people of the interior, and Anzichi, or rather Nseké, "inland" (Stanley, *Congo*, vol. i, p. 3). Father Girolamo de Montesarchio describes a journey which he made to "Cancobella", a town on the Congo, tributary to the Micoco, a King of the Anziko (Cavazzi de Montecucclo, *Istorica Relattione de Tre Regni*, etc., 1690, p. 108).

(26) Dembea, or Tzana, most likely. But geographical names were so transmogrified by the old historians and travellers, and, worse still, so embodied in fables, that it is now almost useless to try and trace many of them. Shoa, Amhara, etc., are easily brought into line with modern knowledge. But "Tigremahon" was not a "Kingdome" at all. It was the name of a chief who took charge of the wounded in the battle which Dom Christovão da Gama (a grandson of Vasco da Gama) fought in 1541 not far from Debra Damo in Tigre. Tigre-Maquanen is still the title of the chief of a district near Senafé.—Markham, *Abyssinian Expedition*, pp. 24, 25.

(27) The Sinus Barbaricus of Ptolemy was south of the equator and north of lat. 10° S. About the centre of the supposed bay was the mouth of Rhaptus fluvius, which Dr. Schlichter (*Proc. R. G. S.*, 1891, p. 525) identifies with the river Pangani.

(28) The absurd blunders of the old geographers regarding distances, make the Kingdom of Abyssinia, "Monomotapa", and Congo meet in the centre of the continent. Hence we find the Abyssinian name Bagamidr persistently clinging to the upper course of the Kwango. Possibly, a confused echo of the Kingdom of Bagirimi had reached the coast.

(29) The great Salt plain, described by Alfonso Mendez and Father Lobo, is near the River Ragolay, in a desert country about fifty miles from the sea, in a southerly direction from Mulkutto.

(30) Bernagasso (or Baharnagash) was only a Ras or Governor under the Negus. His district is now mainly that held by the Italians. This account is from Alvarez.

(31) The Doba Valley is in the Azebo Galla country. The term "Moore", it will be noticed, is used by Pory, like the other writers of his time, to describe any Mohammedans not white or Negroes. Even then he qualifies it by speaking of "Tawnie Moores".

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(32) This inflated account Cooley considers refers to Munha Munge, "Lord of the World", who in 1503 helped Agi Hocen (Haji Hussein), King of Kilwa, to destroy a hostile neighbour. Hence Monemoezi, Muenhe Muge, Moenemugi, Mohenemugi, or Monomugi, of writers subsequent to De Barros, who gives the first account of him (Decade IX, fol. 207, Botero, *Della Relationi Universali*, 1592, p. 310.) It is difficult to decide at this date how far these descriptions were fact and how far fancy. The latter is probably nearer the reality; for most frequently when we have had an opportunity of comparing the early Portuguese and other descriptions with the actual people and spots, the "mighty Emperors" of the Navigators, anxious to rival Cortes and Pizarro, dwindle down to petty chiefs and the "great cities" to squalid villages.

(33) Cambay (Khambhat) the port and capital of a small Indian feudatory state of Bombay, at the head of the Gulf of Cambay, now fallen from its ancient magnificence by the gradual obstruction of its seaward navigation and commerce.

(34) The "Empire of Monomotapa", which has occupied so large a place up to a very recent date in the works of historians—who seemed to have derived their information largely from this summary of De Barros—was from the outset based on a misreading of that chronicler. In reality, there was no such "Empire". Benomotapa, or Monomotapa, was "a pagan prince" who ruled "all the land which we include in the kingdom of Sofala", a name now applied to a Portuguese province in East Africa. "This prince, whom we call Benomotapa or Monomotapa, is with us an emperor, for this is the meaning of his name amongst them." Whichever title is used (and all earlier writers, *e.g.*, Barbarosa and Camoens use the first) the meaning is the same, namely, "principe", "emperador", prince or emperor; the initial syllable, *Bena* and *Mono*, being ordinary Bantu words answering to our chief, lord, master, etc. The second part, *motapa*, has not been so satisfactorily explained; but Mr. Keane (Murray's *South Africa*, p. 19), suggests that it may mean "mine", from the root *tapa*=to excavate or extract. Hence "Lord of the Mines" was not an inappropriate title for the ruler of an auriferous region, equivalent to Manica and Mashonolands. Mr. Baines (*Gold Regions of South-Eastern Africa*, p. 1) is rather loose in his etymology when he translates Monomotapa as "a place whence something valuable is derived". For it is not a place at all, and was far less an "empire", but "Principe gentîo chamado Benomotápa" of "o reyno de Çofala". Yet, even Livingstone (*Missionary Travels*, ch. xx) is dubiously correct in deriving the word from a corruption of the title and name of a chief Mhwene Motape, and for three centuries geographers

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argued about and politicians founded claims upon the position of an "Empire" which never had any existence, as might have been discovered had they referred to the original authorities. Burton, generally reckless in his literary iconaclism, also comes under this censure ("Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa", *Jour. R. G. S.*, vol. xxix, pp. 166, 214, 347).

(35) This note is taken by Pory from De Barros; but it will not bear sifting. Ptolemy's Agysymba (Agizymba) was not a "city", but *regio Æthiopum latissimè extensa*, south of the "Lunæ Montes", through which the Greek geographer drew the thirtieth meridian east of Greenwich—the longitude of Alexandria.

(36) Dos Santos tells us that there are days on which they do not work. These they call "Mozimos, or days of the holy who are already dead". Mr. Bent (who by an oversight quotes Leo when it is Pory's abstract he is referring to) mentions that the term Mozimo for the spirits of ancestors is still used in many parts of the country, and has been compared with the term *molimo* used by the Bechuana for the Supreme Being. N. N. Gravenbroek (*Gentes Africanæ*, MS. in Sunderland Library), also writing in 1695, states, "Divinitatem aliquam Messimo dictam in lucis summo cultu venerantur." The day of rest is kept only during the ploughing season (Bent, *Ruined Cities of Mashonoland*, p. 300; Santos's *Hist. de l'Ethiope Orientale*, trad. par Charpy, 1684).

(37) Butua and Toroa have given geographers about as much trouble as the "Empire of Monomatapa". On Pigafetta's map (1519) they figure as two distinct territories, the former south of, the latter west of, Manhica (Manica), with Zimbaoe (Zimbabwe) between them. (*Relatione del Reaume di Congo et della Cirionvicine contrade*, 1591; *Le Congo*, traduite en française par Cahun, 1883: Keane, in Murray's *South Africa*, p. 13.)

(38) Mr. Bent (*Lib. cit.* p. 205) quotes this passage, in mistake, from Leo Africanus. De Barros gives the position of Zimbabwe very nearly correct, though the early writers were extremely vague as to distances. But instead of 510 miles, the distance should be 640 miles (170 leagues), which is too far west of Sofala by nearly 400 miles, accepting the Portuguese league as equal to 3.87 miles (Keane). Pory seems to have taken it roughly at three miles.

(39) Baretto's expedition was actually much smaller; and it was sent quite as much to explore the gold deposits, which from sickness, opposition of the natives, and hardships, the adventurers never reached.

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(40) The "Sweet River" by no means "mightie". "Lake Gale" is a myth.

(41) Thomas Cavendish, who, eight years before Pory published this work, had died brokenhearted at the failure of his second expedition to the Pacific. The variant "Candish" in spelling his name is worth noting.

(42) Sir James Lancaster, after whom Lancaster Sound, off Baffin's Bay, was named. He visited (after being a soldier and merchant in Portugal) the East Indies on his own account in 1591-94, and in 1594 captured Pernambuco in Brazil. He was knighted in 1604, on returning from leading the first fleet of the East India Company to India. But this was after Pory wrote. (Markham, *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, Hakluyt Society, 1877.)

(43) Table Mountain.

(44) Another semi-mythical "kingdome" of Central Africa, made up of traders' gossip and the half-understood chatter of slaves. Matoma or Matama is, however, still a Congo Chief's name.

(45) This was in 1578.

(46) The source of the Quanza, or Coanza, is still unknown.

(47) From the earliest time these Cabambe mines have been rumoured to exist, though without any basis more definite than that the natives of that district paid tribute to the Portuguese in silver, and that the King of Angola gave Paulo Diaz, in return for Dom Sebastian's presents, several armlets of silver and copper. The silver was made into a chalice for the Church of Belem at Lisbon (Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, vol. i, p. 4; vol. ii, p. 62). The mines have never yet been re-discovered.

(48) The tamed hippopotamus (even with the inconvenient habit of its suddenly reverting to savagedom) must, we are afraid, be attributed to the old historian's credulity. Gordon Cumming's involuntary tour by one on the Limpopo is about the nearest approach to this use of the "river horse". But, in spite of the grotesque language in which they are described, the other animals are realities. The "kinde of oxen, that liue euery night vpon the lande", are simply "sea cows", or Manatees described, without any further knowledge of them than their absurd popular name. One species (*Manatus Senegalensis* or *Vogelli*) is—or was—not uncommon in the rivers of West or East Africa. Manatee Island, near Sea Horse Point on the Congo, commemorates this fact. It has also been reported to frequent Lake Chad, and was suspected by Schweinfurth (from native reports) to



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inhabit the River Keebaly, a distant tributary of the Nile, in long. 27° E. (*Heart of Africa*, vol. ii, p. 96). The "hogge fish" is evidently a cetacean, either one of the marine species or a riverine form, allied, most probably, to the *Inia geoffrensis* or *Pontoporia blainvillii* of the Amazon, La Plata, and other South American rivers. Such an animal has been frequently seen in the Niger, and Mr. Johnston especially notes that not only the manatee, but "a species of river dolphin, is occasionally found in the Lower Congo and about the estuary. I have seen a skull alleged to belong to it." (*The River Congo*, p. 379.)

(49) The zebra is no longer an animal of the Congo country. The "buffle" (buffalo) of the river region is *Bubalis brachyceros*, as fierce, but not as big, as the species found in Central and South Africa. But it is more than doubtful if a wild ass ever existed in that region, the only African species (*A. tæniopus*) being confined to Abyssinia. The "tiger" is, of course, a leopard. The "gugelle" is evidently the gazelle. "Dante" is an animal referred to by Leo, from whose pages Pory takes its name.

(50) São Paolo de Loanda is not built on the long sandy island which protects the harbour from the Atlantic surf, but on the mainland. The water-supply is still the great drawback to the place. The money-shell referred to is the cowry (*Cypræa moneta*). In the palmy days of the trade in human flesh, as many as 90,000 or 100,000 slaves were shipped here annually, and not many years ago a marble arm-chair stood on the custom-house wharf, in which the bishop sat, while baptizing and blessing the batches of negroes, as they were despatched by the bargeful to the vessels anchored off shore.

(51) The elephant is no longer one of the animals of Loango. The coast-people call themselves Bapote, not "Bramas". Near Chinchoxo a tribe (the Mavambu, or Umvambu) are known to the Europeans as "Black Jews", on account of their Semitic features.—Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition am der Loango Kuste*, 1847-75.

(52) "Anzichi", we have seen, is simply a general term for the interior (p. 30). In this case, the reference to copper mines may indicate Katanga. "Red and grey Sanders" are, however, not natives of any part of Africa. Either these plants had been incorrectly identified, or the drugs' country of origin not correctly ascertained, being set down to Africa simply because a ship most recently from that coast brought them to England. "White Sanders," or sandal-wood (*Santalum album*), is the produce of a small tree growing on the mountains of Southern India and in the Indian archipelago. Its export is a Government monopoly, the wood being valuable for the oil, for making a pigment used by the Brahmins for distinguishing caste marks, for

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incense, etc. The white or grey and the yellow Sanders are different parts of the same tree. But neither possesses much medicinal value. "Red Sanders" is the produce of another small tree (*Pterocarpus santalinus*) of Southern India and other parts of tropical Asia. It is mainly used as dye-stuff, an astringent, and as the basis of some tooth-powders. "Lignum aquilæ" is one of the trade-names applied to the wood of *Aquilaria malaccensis*, Linn., also so inappropriately called "Aloes Wood". But it does not come from Africa, but from Malacca. At one time it enjoyed a great reputation as a stimulant, and even as a remedy in epilepsy and apoplexy.

(53) On this animal I shall have something to say in the note to Leo's Bk. IX. "Dante" is not a "German" or a "Greek" term (p. 76).

(54) Now corrupted into "Cape Lopez". It is about thirty-two miles south of the Equator.

(55) Now corrupted into Cameroons, which the Germans have Teutonised into Kamerun, in entire ignorance of its original form and meaning.

(56) *Report of the Kingdom of Congo, a Region of Africa and of the Countries that border rounde about the same, drawen out of the writinges and discourses of Odoardo Lopez, a Portingall*, translated by Abraham Hartwell, 4to, 1597. Lopez left Portugal in 1578, and after some years spent in Africa, returned to Europe with a mission from the King of Congo to the King of Spain. Philip was, however, at that date engaged in fitting out the Spanish Armada, so that Lopez, disappointed with the little attention shown him, went to Rome, where the Pope received him favourably. He dictated his narrative to Pigafetta, who wrote it in Italian, and printed it at Rome in 1591. Hence, the Italicising of the names of this part of Africa, Pigafetta's narrative being the authority from which Pory (in whose day it was a new book) and other authors copied. Lopez collected most of the floating legends about the African lakes, etc. Mrs. Hutchinson re-Englished the book in 1884.

(57) In the seventeenth century, the Kingdom of Benin seems to have been one of the most powerful in West Africa. Badagry and Lagos were both colonies from it, and several states, independent until they came under British rule or protection, comprised within its limits. "Gurte" or Gwato (also called Gato, Agatho, or Agatton), about thirty miles N.N.E. of the mouth of the Benin River, is still a port of some importance for the palm-oil trade, which in 1600 had not begun. Guinea pepper, or Malaguetta (Malagheta, Meleghite, Meleguetta, etc.) pepper, is in modern times generally accounted equivalent to the Grains of Paradise (*Amomum Grana Paradisi*), which is referred



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to in the next paragraph. But the name is also applied to the dried fruits of *Cubebs Clusii*, and the seeds of *Habzelia Æthiopica*. The capsules of *Capsicum frutescens* are likewise sold under that designation, and it is evidently capsicum that Pory alludes to as "long pepper". The "Grain" or "Pepper Coast" perpetuates the memory of the trade done in these spices.

(58) Pliny (*lib.* vi, 32, §§ 201, 203, 204) describes the land of Autololes as opposite the Purpurariæ Islands discovered by Juba, who established on one of them a factory for dyeing the Gætulian purple. If these islands were, as is generally supposed, the two easternmost Canaries, the Autololes coast was that of the Sahara. Jinni, Ginnie, Genna, or Jinnie, was founded in A.D. 1043-4 (A.H. 435), and was well known by that name as early as 1351. The boundaries of the Guinea district with which the Niger town, from which it takes its name, had never much to do, have always been very vague; but, in general terms, the Guinea Coast, until the European colonies got established, may be taken as equivalent to tropical West Africa.

(59) Senegal. This belief in the Senegal and Gambia being the mouths of the Niger held its place, not unreasonably, until late in last century, while the lake origin of the Senegal was akin to the persistent notion that all the great African rivers had their source in such sheets, a legend which perhaps was due to the traders mistaking the negroes' expression for lake, and water, river, and village, or, possibly, to the indiscreet prompting of the uninterested savages. The "mightie cataract" seems to refer to the Felu Falls, where navigation is interrupted by a ledge of rock across the river's bed. The Isle of Elephants is Morfil. Even in Brue's day (1697), herds of forty or fifty elephants wandered quite peacefully on the island.

(60) Joloffs, or Woloffs.

(61) Turucols.

(62) Serawallies.

(63) Bagnas.

(64) This town has never been identified in accordance with the report of the Arabs, Berbers and Tuaregs, imperfectly understood by Ca da Mosto. But so convinced were the Portuguese of its existence, that they sent an expedition from Arguin to found a factory at Hodem or Huadim; though it does not appear that they ever reached a spot corresponding to the description. Until recently, however, the name appeared on maps by such authority as Rennells', illustrating Horneman's *Journal of Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk* (1802, p. 158). No such place exists where it was previously placed, and up to date its actuality has either been scouted or forgotten. There is, however, great probability of its being the plateau of "El Hodh", due

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west of Timbuktu, on which is Walata (Oulata), a town in the Desert reached in 1860 by Alioun Sal, an Arab officer in the French service, on his journey to Aruan, from Podor on the Senegal. According to his account it was a much more important centre than Aruan, and a somewhat busy rendezvous for traders from that town and Timbuktu on their way to the Sudan and Barbary. This entirely agrees with Ca da Mosto's description of it being a rendezvous for caravans engaged in the traffic. The salt mines of "Tegazzi" (Ca da Mosto in *Ramusio*, Ed. 1613, vol. 1, 100 *a*, and *Leo*, Bk. VI, *sub voce* "Tegaza") may refer to several places in the Desert dealing in salt. Aruan, for instance, does a large business in this commodity. Taudeni, when Mordokhaï Abi-Serour visited it, was in ruins; but what trade was carried on by the few people who lived in the tumble-down Arab houses was in salt, of which formerly thousands of camel loads were annually sent to Timbuktu. When Lenz arrived here twelve years later, he found the place entirely deserted.

(65) Sahara.

(66) This is the modern Perim, the Jezirat al Maiyun of the Arabs.

(67) Close to Ras el Bayath.

(68) Dhalac, in the Dhalac Archipelago.

(69) Massowah. (70) Suakim.

(71) Except in reverence of the cross, the Nestorian form of Christianity adopted by the Mahra settlers from the opposite Arabian coast in the sixth century has now been almost entirely lost. Even the legends, that usually last longer than the substance to which they cling, have vanished.

(72) The history of the names applied to the islands off East Africa would form an instructive essay on the vicissitudes of geographical nomenclature. Portuguese has suffered sadly in the mouths of foreign seamen—Englishmen more especially. But Arabic has been still more mangled by the Lusitanian mariners and the map-makers, until even the few places mentioned by Pory are now difficult to extricate from the general confusion. As a specimen of the metamorphoses which an Arab name has undergone, the island of Aldabra may be cited. On some charts it is changed into Albadra, and on the great Mappemonde of Cabot it is written Alhadara, though it is evidently the Arabic Al-Khadhrâ, or the Green, which in time has come to be applied to the familiar Pemba, Penba, or Panda. In seventeenth-century charts we have the island of Adarno. On the maps of Ortelius it becomes Darea, and in the Spanish chart of Diego Ribero (1529) we trace it back to I. de Arena, though doubtless it was originally and

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very properly designated Ilha da Arêa, Sandy Isle. The Amirantes were originally the Ilhas do Almirante—the Admiral's Islands, Vasco da Gama having met with them in 1502 on his second voyage from Melinda to Cananor. The Mascarenes are a corruption of the name of Pero de Mascarenhas, one of the companions of Vasco da Gama; and the Sete Irmâas, or Seven Sisters, have become the Seychelles.

The Galician, Juan de Nova, was commemorated in an island (A Galega) now bearing his name, though a cluster of islands called Juan de Nova were formerly known as "A doze ilhas". But more to the east, north of Madagascar, south of isle of Cosmo Ledo (Cosmoledo), is another isle called Astov, which is a corruption of "A doze ilhas". Again, the island of A Galega (Agalega) was discovered by De Nova in 1501, and named in allusion to his Galician nationality. Cosmo Ledo preserves the name of a Portuguese sailor. O Cerne, the name of a Portuguese family, was first applied to Mauritius, but on Diego Ribero's map it figures as Santa Apollonia, by which name it seems to have been known in Pory's day. Rodriguez (probably Diogo Rodrigues, or Diogo Roys, if abbreviated), is on the same chart Domingos Fernandes, replaced in those of Ortelius and Mercator by Don Galopes, under which barbarous transformation we recognise Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, the fifth Governor of Portuguese East India (1518-1521). Pero dos Banhos is corrupted into Peros Banhos, two shoals, one near the Amirantes, and a second in the Chagos Archipelago, south of the Maldives. Roque Pires is changed into Roquepiz, and under Antongil (p. 91), we detect the name of Antão Gonçalves. Cargados-Garajos, or simply Cargados, is Coroa dos Garajâos, or the sand bank on which the Garajo (a common sea fowl) collects (D'Avezac, *Isles d'Afrique*, Troisieme Partie, pp. II-IV). St. Christopher is an old name for Mayotta, and Spirito Santo for Johanna Isle, so forth.

(73) Mafiyal. (74) Kilwa. (75) Angoche.

(76) The elephant is not a Madagascar animal, and the camel is equally absent.

(77) Antongil Bay, north of St. Mary's Isle (*see* note 72).

(78) Ilha de Gonçalo Alvarez, sometimes corrupted into Albarez, now called Gough Island after Capt. Gough, who, in 1713, rediscovered it, though it was not for a century later that his island was recognised as identical with the one erroneously put on charts as Diego Alvarez.

(79) These might be the yam (*Dioscorea sativa*), or the sweet potato (*Batatas edulis*), still sometimes confounded with the former plant. The latter supposition is most probably true, not only from Pory

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applying to the "Batata", its Portuguese name, but from the fact that Pigafetta had only recently called attention to it as an article of food among the Brazilian Indians. The true potato, which does not grow in São Thome, was then almost unknown in England, though Raleigh had introduced it from Virginia, a few years before Pory wrote. The plants brought by Hawkins from Santa Fe in 1563 were, apparently, sweet potatoes, which for many years subsequently were confounded with the "Batata Virginiana sive Virginianorum et Pappus, Potatoes of Virginia", as they are described in Gerard's *Herbal* (1599).

(80) An arroba is now twenty-five pints: liquid measure thirty-one pints English.

(81) Ilha do Principe.

(82) Originally Ferno doã Poo, from its Portuguese discoverer. In Spanish his name, and the name of the island when it fell to Spain, was literally translated Fernando del Polvo, which in time became Fernan-do-Pô, still further abbreviated into Fernando-Pô, the usual foreign form of the word, though in some French works the much-suffering mariner and his island have become Fernand d'O-Pô. The "certaine lake" is non-existent, so far as present information extends, though it is quite possible it lies on some of the valleys of the mountainous interior, which rises to over 9,000 feet, and gives origin to endless torrents.

(83) Ilha formosa, in 1471.

(84) St. Matthew and Santa Cruz are now classed among the imaginary isles of the Atlantic. The first was reported in 1525 by the Friar Garcia de Loaysa, on his way to the Moluccas with a squadron of seven ships sent by Charles V. Possibly he mistook Annobon for it, and the description he gave is not unapplicable to that island. Santa Croce, Santa-Crosse, or Santa Cruz, appears on sixteenth-century charts about 200 leagues west of St. Matthew; but that is the extent of our knowledge regarding this mythical spot, which if it ever existed has long since sunk into the ocean.

(85) St. Paul, or the Penedo (that is Rock) of San Pedro, is in reality 53′ north of the Equator. It was discovered by Dom Garcia de Noronha in 1511, and received its alternative name from the Sâo Pedro, one of his squadron, commanded by George de Brito. But the "Isle of Conception" (Santa Maria d'Agosto ?), was not discovered by Pedro Alvarez Cabral or anyone else.

(86) The Bird, Magdalen, or Beshitten Islands.

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(87) Thirteen, all told.

(88) The Cape Verd Islands were certainly not known to the Ancients—the Gorgones being the Canaries, and the Hesperides either that group or the Azores. The expedition fitted out by Prince Henry in 1441, under Antonio and Bartolomeo di Nolli, partially discovered them. But they were not settled until after the voyage of Ca da Mosto and Antonio Usodimere in 1456.

(89) São Thiago, the St. Jago of English navigators.

(90) Ribeira Grande, owing to its insecure anchorage, is now in decay, and both port and cathedral are becoming picturesque ruins. Villa de Praia is now the chief town.

(91) The Salina Velha.

(92) By Nuño Tristam in one of the expeditions despatched by Prince Henry. In 1448 a fort was built here, destroyed, and reconstructed in 1461, after which it was for many years the chief commercial establishment of the Portuguese in West Africa, and especially on the Grains Coast and the district round about, now officially known as "La cote d'Arguin". After various vicissitudes, in which it was successively in the hands of the Dutch, the French, and the Brandenburgers (who, after offering it to the English for £100,000, sold it to the Dutch for £30,000), it passed in 1721 again into possession of the French. The late Col. Ellis (*Hist. of the Gold Coast*, p. 4), asserts that on the island of Arguin, which he believed was the Cerne of Hanno, cisterns, constructed by the Cathaginian colonists, can still be traced. This is extremely doubtful. These remains are much more likely those of the Portuguese, or of some of the various masters of Arguin, now part of the colony of Senegal. The principal isles are Tidre (Tider), Risse, Jouick, and Jagamet (Adeget).

(93) The Archil or Orchil lichen (*Rocella tinctoria*).

(94) This statement about the Guanches has been proved to be erroneous.

(95) El Piton, the loftiest point, is actually 12,200 feet high. Pory is evidently inclined to swallow any legend.

(96) The "Sanguis Draconis" is not now a product of Porto Santo, for the island is entirely bare of wood, though there was plenty when it was first discovered. The Dragon's Blood of the Canaries is the resin of *Dracæna Draco*, out of which Perestrello, father-in-law of Columbus, who was Governor of the Island, hoped to have made a fortune. But the trees were recklessly cut down for fuel and any

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other purpose, until the precious resin ceased to be gathered in Porto Santo. It is referred to by Pliny as a product of the Fortunate Isles. "Ex iis quoque insulis Fortunatis Crinabaris Romam advehabatur. Sane hodie num frequens est in insulis arbor illa quæ Crinabarim gignit, vulgo sanguinem draconis appellant" (*Hist. Nat.*, lib. VI, cap. xxxvii). The Socotra Dragon's Blood which Pory mentions, p. 87, is the exudation of an entirely different tree, viz., *Pterocarpus Draco*. The rabbit (cony) pest has now been overcome, both in Porto Santo and in the Balearic Isles.

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# IOHN LEO HIS
## FIRST BOOKE OF
## the description of Africa, and
## *of the memorable things*
## contained therein.

### *Why this part of the worlde was named Africa.*

FRICA is called in the Arabian toong *Iphrichia*, of the word *Faraca*, which signifieth in the said language, to diuide: but why it should be so called, there are two opinions; the first is this: namely, because this part of the worlde is diuided from Europa by the Mediterran sea, and from Asia* by the riuer Nilus. Others are of opinion, that this name *Africa* was deriued from one *Ifricus* the king of Arabia Fœlix, who is saide to haue beene the first that euer inhabited these partes. This *Ifricus* waging warre against the king of Assyria, and being at length by him driuen out of his kingdome, passed with his whole armie ouer Nilus, and so conducting his troupes westward, made no delay till he was come vnto the region lying about Carthage. Hence it is that the Arabians do imagine the countrie about Carthage onely, and the regions lying westward thereof, to comprehende all Africa.[1]

* *Others diuide it from Asia by the red sea.*

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*The borders of Africa.*

AFRICA (if we may giue credite vnto the writers of that nation, being men of learning, and most skilful Cosmographers) beginneth southward at certaine riuers issuing foorth of a lake in the desert of Gaoga. Eastward it bordereth vpon the riuer Nilus. It extendeth northward to that part of Egypt, where Nilus at seuen mouthes dischargeth his streames into the Mediterran sea: from whence it stretcheth westward as farre as the streites of Gibraltar, and is bounded on that part with the vtmost sea-towne of all Libya, called *Nun. Likewise the south part thereof abutteth vpon the Ocean sea, which compasseth Africa almost as farre as the deserts of Gaoga.[2]

* *Non.*

*The diuision of Africa.*

OVR authors affirme, that Africa is diuided into fower partes, that is to say, Barbaria, Numidia, Libya, and the lande of Negros. Barbaria taketh beginning from the hill called Meies, which is the extreme part of all the mountaines of Atlas, being distant from Alexandria almost three hundred miles. It is bounded on the North side with the Mediterran sea, stretching thence to mount-Meies aforesaid, and from mount-Meies extending it selfe to the streites of Gibraltar. Westward it is limited with the said streites, from whence winding it selfe out of the Mediterran sea into the maine Ocean, it is inclosed with the most westerly point of Atlas: namely, at that Westerne cape which is next vnto the towne called Messa. And southward it is bounded with that side of Atlas which lieth towards the Mediterran sea. This is the most noble and worthie region of all Africa, the inhabitants whereof are of a browne or tawnie colour, being a ciuill people, and prescribe wholesome lawes and constitutions vnto themselues.

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The second part of Africa is called of the Latines *Numidia*, but of the Arabians *Biledulgerid*: this region bringeth foorth dates in great abundance. It beginneth eastward at the citie of Eloacat,[3] which is an hundred miles distant from Egypt, & extendeth west as far as the towne of *Nun,[4] standing vpon the Ocean sea. Northward it is inclosed with the south side of Atlas. And the south part thereof bordereth vpon the sandie deserts of Libya. All the Arabians doe vsually call it The land of dates: because this onely region of Africa beareth dates.

*Non.

The third part called of the Latines *Libya*, and of the Arabians *Sarra* (which word signifieth a desert) beginneth eastward at that part of Nilus which is next vnto the citie of Eloacat, and from thence runneth westward as far as the Ocean sea. Northwarde it is bounded with Numidia, southward it abutteth vpon the land of Negros, eastward it taketh beginning at the kingdome of Gaoga, and stretcheth westwarde euen to the land of Gualata, which bordereth vpon the Ocean sea.

The fourth part of Africa which is called the land of Negros, beginneth eastward at the kingdome of Gaoga, from whence it extendeth west as far as Gualata. The north part thereof is inclosed with the desert of Libya, and the fourth part, which is vnknowen vnto vs, with the Ocean sea: howbeit the merchants which daily come from thence to the kingdome of Tombuto, haue sufficiently described the situation of that countrie vnto vs. This lande of Negros hath a mightie riuer, which taking his name of the region, is called Niger: this riuer taketh his originall from the east out of a certaine desert called by the foresaide Negros *Sen.*[5] Others will haue this riuer to spring out of a certaine lake, and so to run westward till it exonerateth it selfe into the Ocean sea. Our Cosmographers affirme that the said riuer of Niger is deriued out of Nilus, which they imagine for some certaine space to be swallowed

*The riuer of Niger.*

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vp of the earth, and yet at last to burst foorth into such a lake as is before mentioned. Some others are of opinion, that this riuer beginneth westward to spring out of a certaine mountaine, and so running east, to make at length a huge lake: which verily is not like to be true; for they vsually saile westward from Tombuto to the kingdome of Ginea, yea and to the land of Melli also; both which in respect of Tombuto are situate to the west: neither hath the said land of Negros any kingdomes comparable, for beautifull and pleasant soile, vnto those which adione vnto the banks of Niger. And here it is to be noted, that (according to the opinion of our Cosmographers) *that land of Negros by which Nilus is said to run (namely, that part of the world which stretcheth eastward euen to the Indian sea, some northerly parcell whereof abutteth vpon the red sea, to wit, the countrie which lieth without the gulfe of Arabia) is not to be called any member or portion of Africa; and that for many reasons, which are to be found in the processe of this historie set downe more at large: The said countrie is called by the Latines *Aethiopia*. From thence come certaine religious Friers seared or branded on the face with an hot iron, who are to be seene almost ouer all Europe, and specially at Rome. These people have an Emperour, which they call *Prete Gianni*, the greater part of that land being inhabited with Christians. Howbeit, there is also a certaine Mahumetan among them, which is said to possesse a great dominion.[6]

* *Aethiopia.*

*A diuision of the fower forenamed partes of Africa.*

BArbarie is distinguished into fower kingdomes: the first whereof is the kingdome of Maroco; which is likewise diuided into seuen regions or prouinces; namely, Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Maroco, Duccala, Hazcora, & Tedles. The second kingdome of Barbarie

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called Fez, comprehendeth in like sort seuen regions within the bounds thereof; to wit, Temesne, the territorie of Fez, Azgara, *Elabat, Errif, Garet, and *Elcauz. The third kingdome is called *Telensin, and hath three regions vnder it, namely, the mountaines, Tenez, and Algezer. The fourth kingdome of Barbarie is named Tunis; vnder which are comprized fower regions, that is to say, Bugia, Constantina, Tripolis in Barbarie, and Ezzaba, which is a good part of Numidia. Bugia hath alwaies beene turmoiled with continuall warres; because sometimes it was subiect vnto the king of Tunis, and sometimes againe vnto the king of Tremizen. Certaine it is that euen vntill these our daies, this Bugia was a kingdome of it selfe, and so continued till the principall citie of that region was at the commandement of *Ferdinando* the king of Castile, taken by one *Peter* of Nauarre.[7]

* *Habat.*
* *Chauz.*
* *Tremizen.*

*The diuision of Numidia.*

THis is the basest part of all Africa; neither will our Cosmographers vouchsafe it the name of a kingdome, by reason that the inhabitants thereof are so far distant asunder; which you may easily coniecture by that which followeth. Teffet a citie of Numidia containeth about fower hundred families, and is in regard of the Libyan desert, seuered from all places of habitation almost three hundred miles; wherefore this second part is thought by diuers not to be woorthie the name of a kingdome. Howbeit we will make some relation of the habitable partes of Numidia; some whereof may not vnfitly bee compared with other regions of Africa, as for example, that of Segelmess, which territorie of Numidia lieth ouer against Barbarie; likewise Zeb, which is situate against Bugia, and the signiorie of Biledulgerid, which extendeth vnto the kingdome of Tunis. Reseruing therefore many particulars for the second part of this historie, we wil make

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our entrie and beginning at those places, which lie vpon the west of Numidia: the names whereof be these; Teffet, Guaden, Ifren, Hacca, Dare, Tebelbelt, Todga, Fercale, Segelmess, Benigumi, Fighig, Tegua, Tfabit, Tegorarin, Mefab, Tegort, and Guarghela. The region of Zeb containeth fiue townes, to wit, Pescara, Elborgh, Nesta, Taolac, and Deufin: so many cities likewise hath the territorie of Biledulgerid; namely, Teozar, Caphesa, Nesreoa, Elchamid, and Chalbis: and from hence eastward are found the isles of Gerbe, Garion, Mesellata, Mestrata, Teoirraga, Gademis, Fizza, Angela, Birdeoa, and Eloacat. These are the names[8] of the most famous places of all Numidia, being bounded (as is said before) westward vpon the Ocean sea, and eastward with the riuer of Nilus.

### *A description of the Libyan deserts, which lie betweene Numidia and the land of Negros.*

THese deserts haue not as yet any certaine name amongst vs, albeit they be diuided into fiue partes, and receiue all their denomination from the inhabitants which dwell vpon them, that is to say, from the Numidians, who are in like sort themselues diuided into fiue partes also, to wit, the people or tribes called Zanega, Ganziga, Terga, Leuta, and Berdeoa. There bee likewise certaine places, which take some proper and particular name from the goodnes and badnes of the soile; as namely the desert of Azaohad, so called for the drought and vnfruitfulnes of that place: likewise Hair, albeit a desert, yet so called for the goodnes and temperature of the aire.[9]

### *A diuision of the land of Negros into seuerall kingdomes.*

MOreouer, the land of Negros is diuided into many kingdomes: whereof albeit a great part be vnknowen vnto vs, and remooued farre out of our trade;

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we will notwithstanding make relation of those places, where we our selues haue aboad, and which by long experience are growne very familiar vnto vs; as likewise of some other places, from whence merchants vsed to trauell vnto the same cities wherein my selfe was then resident; from whom I learned right well the state of their countries. I* my selfe saw fifteene kingdoms of the Negros: howbeit there are many more, which although I saw not with mine owne eies, yet are they by the Negros sufficiently knowen and frequented. Their names therefore (beginning from the west, and so proceeding Eastward and Southward) are these following: Gualata, Ghinea, Melli, Tombuto, Gago, Guber, Agadez, Cano, Cafena, Zegzeg, Zanfara, Guangara, Borno, Gaogo, Nube. These fifteene kingdomes are for the most part situate vpon the riuer Niger, through the which merchants vsually trauell from Gualata to the citie of *Alcair in Egypt. The iourney indeede is very long, but yet secure and voide of danger. All the said kingdomes adjoine one vpon another; ten whereof are separated either by the riuer Niger, or by some sandie desert: and in times past each one of the fifteene had a seueral king, but now* at this present, they are all in a manner subiect vnto three kings onely: namely, to the king of Tombuto who is Lord of the greatest part; to the king of Borno, who gouerneth the least part, and the residue is in subiection vnto the king of Gaoga: howbeit he that possesseth the kingdome of Ducala hath a very small traine attending vpon him. Likewise these kingdomes haue many other kingdomes bordering vpon the South frontiers of them: to wit, Biro, Temiam, Dauma, Medra, and Gorhan; the gouernors and inhabitants whereof are most rich and industrious people, great louers of iustice and equitie, albeit some lead a brutish kinde of life.[10]

* *Iohn Leo trauelled ouer 15. kingdomes of the land of Negros.*

* *Cairo.*

* *About the yeere 1526.*

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*Of the habitations of Africa, and of the signification of this word* Barbar.

OVr Cosmographers and historiographers affirme, that in times past Africa was altogether disinhabited, except that part which is now called the land of Negros: and most certaine it is, that Barbarie and Numidia were for many ages destitute of inhabitants. The tawnie people of the said region were called by the name of *Barbar*, being deriued of the verbe *Barbara*, which in their toong signifieth to murmur: because the African toong soundeth in the eares of the Arabians, no otherwise than the voice of beasts, which vtter their sounds without any accents. Others will haue *Barbar* to be one word twise repeated, forsomuch as *Bar* in the Arabian toong signifieth a desert, For (say they) when king *Iphricus* being by the Assyrians or Aethiopians driuen out of his owne kingdome, trauelled towards Aegypt, and seeing himselfe so oppressed with his enimies, that he knew not what should become of him and his followers, he asked his people how or which way it was possible to escape, who answered him *Bar-Bar*, that is, to the desert, to the desert: giuing him to vnderstand by this speech that he could haue no safer refuge, then to crosse ouer Nilus, and to flee vnto the desert of Africa. And this reason seemeth to agree with them, which affirme the Africans to be descended from the people of Arabia fœlix.[11]

*The originall of the people of Africa.*

ABout the originall of the Africans, our historiographers doe much disagree. For some will haue them to be deriued from the inhabitants of Palæstina; because (as they say) being expelled out of their owne countrie by the Assyrians, they came at length into Africa, & seeing the fruitfulnes of the soile, chose it to be their place of



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habitation. Others are of opinion, that they tooke their originall from the Sabeans a people of Arabia fœlix, and that, before such time as they were put to flight by the Assyrians or Aethiopians, as hath beene aforesaid. Some others report, that the Africans descended from certaine people of *Asia, who being chased thence by reason of warres which were waged against them, fled into Greece, which at the same time had no inhabitants at all. Howbeit the enimie still pursuing them, they were forced to crosse the sea of Morea, and being arriued in Africa, to settle themselues there: but their enimies aboad still in Greece. All which opinions and reportes are to bee vnderstood onely of the originall of the tawnie people, that is to say, of the Numidians and Barbarians. For all the Negros or blacke Moores take their descent from *Chus*, the sonne of *Cham*, who was the sonne of *Noë*. But whatsoeuer difference there be betweene the Negros and the tawnie Moores, certaine it is that they had all one beginning. For the Negros are descended of the Philistims, and the Philistims of *Mesraim* the *sonne of *Chus:* but the tawnie Moores fetch their petigree from the Sabeans, and it is euident that *Saba* was begotten of **Rama*, which was the eldest sonne of *Chus*. Diuers other opinions there be as touching this matter: which because they seeme not so necessarie wee haue purposely omitted.[12]

* *Fortè Asia minor.*

* *Genesis the 10. v. the 6. Mezraim is accounted the brother of Chus.*

* *Gen. 10. 7.*

*A diuision of the tawnie Moores into sundrie tribes or nations.*

THE tawnie Moores[13] are diuided into fiue seuerall people or tribes: the tribes called Zanhagi, Musmudi, Zeneti, Hacari, and Gumeri.[14] The tribe of Musmudi inhabit the western part of mount Atlas, from the prouince of Hea to the riuer of *Seruan.[15] Likewise they dwell vpon the south part of the said mountaine,

* *Guadalhabit.*

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and vpon all the inward plaines of that region. These Musmudæ haue fower prouinces vnder them: namely, Hea, Sus, Guzula,[16] and the territorie of Marocco. The tribe of Gumeri possesse certaine mountaines of Barbarie, dwelling on the sides of those mountaines which lie ouer against the Mediterran sea: as likewise they are Lords of all the riuer called in their language *Rif.* This riuer hath its fountaine neere vnto the streites of Gibraltar, and thence runneth eastwards to the kingdome of Tremizen, called by the Latines *Cæsaria.*[17]

*Tremizen called by the ancient Cosmographers Cæsaria or Mauritania Cæsariensis.*

These two tribes or people haue seuerall habitations by themselves; the other three are dispersed confusiuely ouer all Africa: howbeit they are, like strangers, discerned one from another by certaine properties or tokens, maintaining continuall warre among themselues, especially those of Numidia. These (I say) are those very people (as some report) who had no other places then tents and wide fields to repose themselues in: and it is reported, that in times past they had great conflicts together, and that the vanquished were sent to inhabit townes and cities, but the conquerors held the champions and fieldes vnto themselues and there setled their aboad. Neither is it altogether vnlikely; because the inhabitants of cities haue all one and the same language with the countrie people. For the Zeneti, whether they dwell in the citie or in the countrie, speake all one kinde of language: which is likewise to be vnderstood of the rest. The tribes of Zeneti, Haoari, and Sanhagi; inhabit the countrie of Temesne:[18] sometimes they liue peaceably, and sometimes againe, calling to minde their ancient quarrels, they breake foorth into cruell warres and manslaughters. Some of these people beare rule ouer all Africa, as namely the Zeneti, who in times past vanquished the familie called Idris; from which some affirme the true and naturall Dukes of Fez, and the founders of the same citie to deriue their petigree: their



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progenie likewise was called Mecnasa.[19] There came afterward out of Numidia, another familie of the Zeneti called Magraoa: this Magraoa chased the familie of Mecnafa with all their Dukes and chieftaines out of their dominions. Not long after, the said tribe of Magraoa was expelled in like sort by certaine others of the race of the Sanhagij, called by the name of Luntuna,[20] which came also out of the desert of Numidia.

By this familie was the countrie of Temesna in processe of time vtterly spoiled and wasted, and all the inhabitants thereof slaine, except those which were of their owne tribe and kindred of Luntuna, vnto whom was allotted the region of Ducala to inhabit, and by them was built the citie commonly called Maroco.[21] It fell out afterwards by the inconstancie of fortune, that one *Elmahdi* the principall Mahumetan preacher among them,[22] conspiring with the Hargij (these Hargij were of the familie of Musmuda) expelled the whole race of the Luntuna, and vsurped that kingdome vnto himselfe. After this mans decease, succeeded in his place one of his disciples called *Habdul Mumen a Banigueriaghel*[23] of the kindred of the Sanhagij. The kingdome remained vnto this family about an 120. yeeres, whereunto all Africa in a manner was subiect: At length being deposed by the Banimarini, a generation of the Zeneti, the said familie was put to flight: which Banimarini are said to haue raigned afterward for the space of 170. yeeres.[24] The Banimarini which descended of the Sanhagij and of Magroa, waged continuall warre against *Banizeyan* the king of Telensin: likewise the progenie of Hafasa, and of Musmuda are at variance and dissension with the king of Tunis. So that you see what stirres and tumults haue at all times beene occasioned in those regions by the foresaid fiue families.[25]

*Who were the founders of Maroco.*

Certaine it is, that neither the Gumeri, nor the Haoari haue at this present any iurisdiction at all; albeit hereto-

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fore (as we reade in their chronicles)[26] they had some certaine dominion, before such time as they were infected with the Mahumetan lawe. Out of all which it is euident, that in times past all the foresaid people had their habitations and tents in the plaine fields: euery one of which fauoured their owne faction, and exercised all labours necessarie for mans life, as common among them. The gouernours of the countrie attended their droues and flockes; and the citizens applied themselues vnto some manuall art, or to husbandrie. The said people are diuided into fiue hundred seuerall families, as appeereth by the genealogies of the Africans, author whereof is one *Ibnu Rachu*, whom I haue oftentimes read and perused. Some writers are of opinion, that the king of Tombuto, the king of Melli,[27] and the king of Agadez fetch their originall from the people of Zanaga, to wit, from them which inhabite the desert.

### *The agreement or varietie of the African language.*

THe foresaid fiue families or people, being diuided into hundreds of progenies, and hauing innumerable habitations, doe notwithstanding vse all one kinde of language, called by them *Aquel Amarig*,[28] that is, the noble toong: the Arabians which inhabite Africa, call it a barbarous toong; and this the true and naturall language of the Africans. Howbeit it is altogether different from other languages, although it hath diuers words common with the Arabian toong; whereupon some would inferre, that the Africans (as is aboue said) came by lineall descent from the Sabeans, a people of Arabia fœlix. Others say, that these words were euen then inuented when the Arabians came first into Africa, and began to take possession thereof: but these authors were so rude and grosse-witted, that they left no writings behinde them, *Aquel Amarig.*

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which might be alleaged either for, or against. Moreouer they haue among them another diuersitie, not onely of pronuntiation, but of significant words also: as namely, they which dwell neere vnto the Arabians, and exercise much traffique with them, doe for the greater part vse their language. Yea, all the Gumeri in a manner, and most of the Haoari speake Arabian, though corruptly; which (I suppose) came first hereupon to passe, for that the said people haue had long acquaintance and conuersation with the Arabians. The Negros haue diuers languages among themselues, among which they call one *Sungai*,[29] and the same is current in many regions; as namely, in Gualata,[30] Tombuto,[31] Ghinea, Melli, and Gago.[32] Another language there is among the Negros, which they cal *Guber*;[33] & this is rife among the people of Guber, of Cano,[34] of Casena,[35] of Perzegreg,[36] & of Guangra.[37] Likewise the kingdom of Borno hath a peculiar kinde of speech, altogether like vnto that, which is vsed in Gaoga. And the kingdome of Nube[38] hath a language of great affinitie with the Chaldean, Arabian, & Egyptian toongs. But all the sea-towns of Africa frõ the Mediterran sea to the mountains of Atlas, speake broken Arabian. Except the kingdome and towne of Maroco, & the inland Numidians bordering vpon Maroco, Fez, & Tremizen; all which, vse the Barbarian toong. Howbeit they which dwel ouer against Tunis & Tripoli, speake indeede the Arabian language; albeit most corruptly.

### *Of the Arabians inhabiting the citie of Africa.*

* *Hutmen.*

OF that armie which was sent by *Califa* Otmen* the third, in the fower hundred yeere of the Hegeira, there came into Africa fowerscore thousand gentlemen and others, who hauing subdued sundrie prouinces, at length arriued in Africa: and there the Generall of the whole

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armie called *Hucha Hibnu Nafich* remained. This man built that great citie which is called of vs *Alcair. For he stood in feare of the people of Tunis, least they should betray him, misdoubting also that they would procure aide out of Sicily, and so giue him the encounter. Wherefore with all his treasure which he got, he trauelled to the desert and firme ground, distant from *Carthage about one hundred and twentie miles, and there is he said to haue built the citie *Alcair. The remnant of his soldiers he commanded to keepe those places, which were most secure and fit for their defence, and willed them to build where no rocke nor fortification was. Which being done, the Arabians began to inhabit Africa, and to disperse themselues among the Africans, who because they had beene for certaine yeeres subiect vnto the Romans or Italians, vsed to speake their language: and hence it is, that the naturall and mother-toong of the Arabians, which hath great affinitie with the African toong, grewe by little and little to be corrupted: and so they report that these two nations at length conioined themselues in one. Howbeit the Arabians vsually doe blaze their petigree in daily and triuiall songs; which custome as yet is common both to *vs, and to the people of Barbarie also. For no man there is, be he neuer so base, which will not to his owne name, adde the name of his nation; as for example, Arabian, Barbarian, or such like.[39]

* *Hucha.*

* *Cairaoan.*

* *Tunis.*

* *Cairaoan.*

* *The Moores of Granada.*

### *Of the Arabians which dwell in tents.*

THE Mahumetan priestes alwaies forbad the Arabians to passe ouer Nilus with their armies and tents. Howbeit in the fower hundred yeere of the Hegeira[40] we reade, that they were permitted so to doe by a certaine factious and schismaticall *Califa: because one of his nobles had rebelled against him, vsurping the citie of Cairaoan, and

* *A Mahumetan patriarke.*

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the greatest part of Barbarie. After the death of which rebell, that kingdome remained for some yeeres vnto his posteritie and familie; whose iurisdiction (as the African chronicles report) grew so large and strong in the time of *Elcain* (the Mahumetan Califa and patriark of Arabia) that he sent vnto them one *Gehoar*, whom of a slaue he had made his counsellour, with an huge armie. This *Gehoar* conducting his armie westward, recouered all Numidia and Barbarie. Insomuch that he pierced vnto the region of Sus, and there claimed most ample tribute: all which being done, he returned backe vnto his Calipha, and most faithfully surrendred vnto him whatsoeuer he had gained from the enemie.[41] The Calipha seeing his prosperous successe, began to aspire vnto greater exploites. And *Gehoar* most firmely promised, that as he had recouered that westerne dominion vnto his Lord, so would he likewise by force of warre most certainly restore vnto him the countries of the East, to wit, Egypt, Syria, and all Arabia; and protested moreouer that with the greatest hazard of his life, he would be auenged of all the iniuries offered by the familie of *Labhus*[42] vnto his Lords predecessors, and would reuest him in the royall seate of his most famous grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and progenitors. The Calipha liking well his audacious promise, caused an armie of fower-score thousand soldiers, with an infinite summe of money and other things necessarie for the warres, to be deliuered vnto him. And so this valiant and stout chieftaine being prouided for warfare, conducted his troupes through the deserts of Aegypt & Barbarie; & hauing first put to flight the vice-Califa of Aegypt (who fled vnto *Elair* the Califa of Bagdet) in short time he subdued very easily all the prouinces of Aegypt and Syria. Howbeit he could not as yet hold himselfe secure; fearing least the Califa of Badget would assaile him with an armie out of Asia, and least the garrisons which he had left to keepe Barbarie

*Gehoar a slaue by condition, conquered all Barbarie, Numidia, Egypt, and Syria.*

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should be constrained to forsake those conquered prouinces. Wherefore hee built a citie, and caused it to be walled round about. In which citie he left one of his most trustie captaines, with a great part of the armie: and this citie he called by the name of Alchair, which afterward by others was named Cairo.[43] This Alchair is saide daily so to haue increased, that no citie of the world for buildings and inhabitants was any way comparable thereunto. Now when *Gehoar* perceiued that the Calipha of Badget made no preparation for warre, he foorthwith wrote vnto his Lord, that all the conquered cities yeelded due honour vnto him, and that all things were in quiet and tranquillitie: and therefore, that himselfe (if he thought good) should come ouer into Aegypt, and thereby with his onely presence should preuaile more to recouer the remnant of his dominions, then with neuer so huge an armie: for he was in good hope that the Calipha of Badget hearing of his expedition, would leaue his kingdome and prelacie, and would betake himselfe to flight. This notable and ioyfull message no sooner came to the eares of Calipha *Elcain*; but he being by his good fortune much more encouraged then before, and not forethinking himselfe what mischiefe might ensue, leuied a great armie, appointing for vice-roy for all Barbarie one of the familie of Sanagia aforesaid, finding him afterward not to be his trustie friend. Moreouer Calipha *Elcain* arriuing at Alchair, and being most honorably entertained by his seruant *Gehoar*, began to thinke vpon great affaires, and hauing gathered an huge armie, resolued to wage battell against the Calipha of Badget. In the meane season he that was appointed vice-roy of Barbarie compacting with the Calipha of Badget, yeeldeth himselfe and all Barbarie into his hands. Which the Calipha most kindly accepted, and ordained him king ouer all Africa. But Calipha *Elcain* hearing this newes at Alchair was woonderfully afflicted in minde; partly

*Gehoar the first founder of Cairo.*

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because he saw himselfe repelled from his owne kingdome, and partly for that he had spent all his money which hee brought with him: insomuch that he knew not what in the world to doe, determining some seuere punishment for *Gehoar*, by whose counsell he left his kingdome of Arabia. Howbeit there was one of his secret counsellors a very learned and wittie man, who seeing his Lord so sad and pensiue, and being desirous by some good aduise to preuent the danger imminent, comforted him in this wise: Your highnes knoweth (most inuincible Califa) that fortune is most variable, and that the courage of your soldiers is no whit daunted by reason of these mishaps. For mine owne part, as I haue heretofore shewed my selfe to be your trustie seruant, so will I at this time giue you such profitable counsell, whereby you may within short space recouer all those dominions which haue beene so treacherously taken from you, and may without al peraduenture most easily attaine vnto your owne harts desire. And this you may doe without maintaining any armie at all; yea, I assure you, if you please to take mine aduise, that I will foorthwith procure you such an armie, as shall giue you great store of money, and yet notwithstanding shall doe you good seruice also. The Califa being somewhat emboldened at these speeches, asked his counsellour how this might possibly be brought to effect: My Lord (saith his counseller) certaine it is, that the Arabians are now growen so populous and to so great a number, that all Arabia cannot containe them, scarcely wil the yeerely increase of the ground suffice to feede their droues, and you see with what great famine they are afflicted, and how they are destitute not onely of habitations, but euen of victuals and sustenance. Wherefore if you had heeretofore giuen them leaue, they would long ere this inuaded Africa. And if you will now licence them so to doe, doubt you not, but that you shall receiue of them an huge masse

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of golde. This counsell could not altogether satisfie the Califa his minde: for he knew right well that the Arabians would so waste all Africa, as it should neither bee profitable for himselfe, nor for his enemies. Notwithstanding, seeing that his kingdome was altogether endangered, hee thought it better to accept those summes of money which his counsellour promised, and so to be reuenged of his enemie, then to lose both his kingdome and gold all at once. Wherefore hee permitted all Arabians, which would pay him ducats apeece, freely to enter Africa; conditionally that they would shewe themselues most 'deadly enemies vnto the treacherous king of Barbarie. Which libertie being granted vnto them, it is reported that ten tribes or families of Arabians, being halfe the people of Arabia deserta, came immediately into Africa; vnto whom certaine inhabitants of Arabia fœlix ioyned themselues, insomuch that there were found amongst them about fiftie thousand persons able to beare armes: their women, children, and cattell were almost innumerable: the storie whereof *Ibnu Rachu*, the most diligent chronicler of African affaires (whom we haue before mentioned) setteth downe at large. These Arabians hauing trauersed the desert betweene Aegypt and Barbarie, first laid siege vnto Tripolis a citie of Barbarie, which being ouercome, they slew a great part of the citizens, the residue escaping by flight. Next of all they encountred the towne of Capes,[44] which was by them taken and vanquished. At length they beseiged Cairaoan also; howbeit the citizens being sufficiently prouided of victuals, are said to haue indured the siege for eight monethes: which being expired, they were constrained to yeeld: at what time there was nothing in Cairaoan but wofull slaughters, hideous outcries, and present death. This land the Arabians diuided among themselues, and began to people and inhabite the same; requiring in the meane space large tributes of the townes

*Ten tribes of Arabians invade Africa.*

*Ibnu Rachu a famous historiographer.*

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and prouinces subiect vnto them. And so they possessed all Africa, vntill such time as one *Ioseph* the sonne of *Ieffin* attained to the kingdom of Marocco. This *Ioseph* was the first king of Marocco, who endeuored by all meanes to aduance the friends and kinred of the late deceased king of Africa vnto the kingdome; neither did he cease vntill he had expelled all the Arabians out of Cairaoan. Howbeit the Arabians possessed the regions thereabout, giuing themselves wholy to spoiles and robberies: and the friends of the said deceased king could beare rule but in certaine places only.[45] Afterward succeeded in the kingdome of Marocco one *Mansor*, who was the fourth king and prelate of that Mahumetan sect which was called *Muachedim*.[46] This man, albeit his grand-fathers & great grand-fathers had alwaies fauoured the posteritie and friends of the foresaid deceased African king, and had restored them to their ancient dignitie; deuised altogether how to oppose himselfe against them, and to vsurpe all their authoritie. Wherefore making a fained league with them, we reade, that he prouoked the Arabians against them, and so very easily ouercame them. Afterward *Mansor* brought the greatest part of the Arabians into the westerne dominions of Africa; vnto the better sort of whom he gaue the habitation of Duccala & Azgara, and vnto the baser remnant he bequeathed the possession of Numidia. But in processe of time he commanded the Numidian slaues to be set at libertie, and so in despight of the Arabians, he caused them to inhabite that part of Numidia which he had allotted vnto them. But as for the Arabians of Azgara and of certaine other places in Barbarie, he brought them all vnder his subiection. For the Arabians out of deserts are like fishes without water: they had indeede often attempted to get into the deserts; but the mountaines of Atlas, which were then possessed by the Barbarians, hindred their passage. Neither had they

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libertie to passe ouer the plaines, for the residue of the Barbarians were there planted. Wherefore their pride being abated, they applied themselues vnto husbandrie, hauing no where to repose themselues, but onely in villages, cottages, and tents. And their miserie was so much the greater, in that they were constrained yeerely to disburse vnto the king of Marocco most ample tribute. Those which inhabited Duccala, because they were an huge multitude, easily freed themselues from all tribute, and imposition. A great part of the Arabians remained still at Tunis, for that *Mansor* had refused to carie them along with him: who, after the death of the said *Mansor*, grew to be Lords of Tunis, and so continued, till they resigned their gouernment vnto the people called Abu-Haf,[48] vpon condition that they should pay them halfe the reuenues thereof; and this condition hath remained firme euen vntill our daies. Howbeit, because the Arabians are increased to such innumerable swarmes, that the whole reuenues are not sufficient for them, the king of Tunis 1526.
most iustly alloweth some of them their duties, to the end they may make secure passage for merchants, which indeede they performe without molestation or hurt of any. But the residue which are depriued of their pay, betake themselues wholy to robberies, thefts, slaughters, and such other monstrous outrages. For these, lurking alwaies in the woods, no sooner see any merchant approching, but suddenly they breake foorth, depriuing him of his goodes and life also: insomuch that now merchants dare not passe that way but with a garrison of safe-conduct. And so they passe sometimes to their great inconuenience. For they are notwithstanding constrained to giue vnto the foresaid Arabians, which are in pay with the king of Tunis, great summes of money: and are likewise oftentimes so in danger of robbers, that they lose both their goods & liues.

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*A diuision of the Arabians which inhabite Africa, and are called by the name of Barbarians, into diuers progenies or kinreds.*[49]

THE Arabians which inhabite Africa are diuded into three partes: one part whereof are called Cachin, the second Hilell, and the third Machill. The Cachin are diuided into three nations or tribes; to wit, the tribes of Etheg, Sumait, and Sahid. Moreouer Etheg is diuided into three families; that is to say, the familie of Delleg, Elmuntefig, and Subair: and these are dispersed into many regions. Hilel are deriued into fower generations; to wit, the people of Benihemir, of Rieh, of Sufien, and of Chusain. The familie of Benihemir is diuided into the linages of Huroam, Hucben, Habrum and Mussim. The tribe of Rieh are distributed into the kinreds called Deuvad, Suaid, Afgeg, Elcherith, Enedri, and Garfam; which kinreds possesse many dominions. Machil haue three tribes vnder them: to wit, Mastar, Hutmen, and Hassan. Mastar are diuided into Ruchen, and Selim; Hutmen into Elhasi and Chinan; and Hassan into Deuihessen, Deuimansor, and Deuihubaidulla. Deuihessen is distinguished into the kinreds called Dulein, Berbun, Vodein, Racmen and Hamram; Deuimansor into Hemrun, Menebbe, Husein, and Albuhusein; and lastly Deuihubaidulla, into Garag, Hedeg, Teleb, and Geoan. All these doe in a manner possesse innumerable regions; insomuch that to reckon them vp at large, were a matter not onely difficult, but almost impossible.[50]

*Of the habitations and number of the foresaid Arabians.*

THE most noble and famous Arabians were they of the familie of Etheg, vnto whome *Almansor* gaue the regions of Duccala and of Tedles[51] to inhabit. These

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Arabians euen till our times haue beene put to great distresse and hazard, partly by the Portugall king, and partly by the king of Fez. They haue at all oportunities, if need should require, a hundred thousand soldiers fit to beare armes, a great part whereof are horsemen. The Arabians called Sumait enioy that part of the Libyan desert which lieth ouer against the desert of Tripoly. These make often inuasions into Barbarie, for they haue no places allotted them therein, but they and their camels doe perpetually remaine in the deserts. They are able to leuie fower-score thousand soldiers, the greatest part being footmen. Likewise the tribe of Sahid doe inhabite the desert of Libya: and these haue had alwaies great league and familiaritie with the king of Guargala. They haue such abundance of cattell, that they doe plentifully supply all the cities of that region with flesh, and that especially in sommer time, for all the winter they stirre not out of the deserts. Their number is increased to about a hundred and fiftie thousand, hauing not many horsemen among them. The tribe of Delleg possesse diuers habitations, howbeit *Cæsaria containeth the greatest part of them. * *Tremizen.* Some also inhabit vpon the frontiers of the kingdome of Bugia; who are said to receiue a yeerely stipend from their next neighbours. But the least part of them dwell vpon the field-countrey of Acdes,[52] vpon the borders of Mauritania, and vpon some part of mount Atlas, being subiect vnto the king of Fez. The people of Elmuntafig are seated in the prouince of Azgar, and are called by the later writers Elcaluth. These also pay certaine yeerely tribute vnto the King of Fez, beeing able to furnish about eight thousand horsemen to the warres. The kindred of Sobair doe inhabit not farre from the kingdome of Gezeir,[53] being many of them vnder the pay of the king of Tremizen, and are said to enioy a great part of Numidia. They haue, more or lesse, three thousand most warlike horsemen.

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They possesse likewise great abundance of camels; for which cause they abide all winter in the deserts. The remnant of them occupieth the plaine which lieth betweene Sala and Mecnes.[54] These haue huge droues of cattell, and exercise themselues in husbandrie, being constrained to pay some yeerely tribute vnto the king of Fez. They haue horsemen, who, as a man may say, are naturally framed to the warres, about fower thousand in number.

*Of the people of Hillel, and of their habitations.*

HIllel, which are also called Benihamir, dwell vpon the frontiers of the kingdome of Tremizen and Oran. These range vp and downe the desert of Tegorarin, being in pay vnder the king of Tremizen, and of great riches and power; insomuch that they haue at all times in a readines for the warres six thousand horsemen. The tribe of Hurua possesse onely the borders of Mustuganim.[55] These are sauage people, giuing themselues wholy to spoiles and robberies, and alienating their mindes from the warres. They neuer come foorth of the deserts; for the people of Barbarie will neither allow them any places of habitation, nor yet any stipend at all: horsemen they haue to the number of two thousand. The kindred of Hucban[56] are next neighbours vnto the region of Melian,[57] who receiue certaine pay from the king of Tunis. They are rude and wilde people, and in very deede estranged from al humanitie: they haue (as it is reported) about fifteene hundred horsemen. The tribe of Habru inhabit the region lying betweene Oran and Mustuganim: these exercise husbandrie, paying yeerely tribute vnto the king of Tremizen, and being scarce able to make one hundred horsemen.

The people called Muslim possesse those deserts of Masila[59] which extend vnto the kingdome of Bugia. These likewise are giuen onely to theft and robberie; they take

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tribute both of their owne people, and of other regions adioyning vnto them. The tribe Riech inhabite those deserts of Libya which border vpon Constantina. These haue most ample dominions in Numidia, being now diuided into sixe parts. This right famous and warlike nation receiueth stipende from the king of Tunis, hauing fiue thousande horsemen at command. The people of Suaid enioy that desert, which is extended vnto the signiorie of Tenez. These haue very large possessions, receiuing stipend from the king of Tremizen, being men of notable dexteritie, as well in the warres as in all other conuersation of life. The kindred of Azgeg dwell not all together in one place: for part of them inhabite the region of Garet among the people called Hemram: and the residue possesse that part of Duccala which lieth neere vnto Azaphi. The tribe of Elcherit dwell vpon that portion of Helin which is situate in the plaine of Sahidim, hauing the people of Heah tributarie vnto them, and being a very vnciuill and barbarous people. The people called Enedri are seated in the plaine of Heah: but the whole region of Heah maintaineth almost fower thousand horsemen; which nothwithstanding are vnfit for the warres. The people of Garsa haue sundrie mansions; neither haue they any king or gouernour. They are dispersed among other generations, and especially among the kindreds of Manebbi and Hemram. These conuay dates from Segelmessa to the kingdome of Fez, and carrie backe againe from thence such things as are necessarie for Segelmess.[60]

### *Of the tribe of Machil.*

THE people called Ruche, who are thought to be descended from Mastar, doe possesse that desert, which lieth next vnto Dedes and Farcala.[61] They haue very small dominions, for which cause they are accounted



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no whit rich; howbeit they are most valiant soldiers, and exceeding swift of foote; insomuch that they esteeme it a great disgrace, if one of their footemen be vanquished by two horsemen. And you shall finde scarce any one man among them, which will not outgoe a very swift horse; be the iourney neuer so long. They haue about fiue hundred horsemen; but most warlike footemen, to the number of eight thousand. Selim inhabite vpon the riuer of Dara; from whence they range vp and downe the deserts. They are endowed with great riches, carrying euery yeere merchandize vnto the kingdome of Tombuto, and are thought to be in high fauour with the king himselfe.[62] A large iurisdiction they haue in Darha and great plentie of camels: and for all oportunities of warre they haue euer in a readines three thousande horsemen. The tribe of Elhasis dwelleth vpon the sea-coast neere vnto Messa. They doe arme about fiue hundred horsemen, and are a nation altogether rude and vnacquainted in the warres. Some part of them inhabiteth Azgara. Those which dwell about Messa are free from the yoke of superioritie, but the others which remaine in Azgar are subiect to the king of Fez. The kindred of Chinan are dispersed among them which before were called Elcaluth, and these also are subiect unto the king of Fez.[64] Very warlike people they are; and are able to set foorth two thousand horsemen. The people of Deuihessen are diuided into the kindreds of Duleim, Burbun, Vode, Deuimansor, and Deuihubaidulla, Duleim are conuersant in the deserts of Libya with the African people called Zanhaga. They haue neither dominion nor yet any stipend; wherefore they are very poore and giuen to robberie: they trauell vnto Dara, and exchange cattell for dates with the inhabitants there. All brauerie & comelines of apparell they vtterly neglect; and their number of fighting men is ten thousand, fower thousand

*Traffique to Tombuto.*

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being horsemen and the residue footmen. The people called Burbun possesse, that part of the Libyan desert, which adioyneth vnto Sus. They are a huge multitude, neither haue they any riches beside camels. Vnto them is subiect the citie of Teffet, which scarce sufficeth them for the maintenance of their horses, being but a few. The people of Vode enioyeth that desert, which is situate between Guaden and Gualata.[65] They beare rule ouer the Guadenites, and of the Duke of Gualata they receiue yeerely tribute, and their number is growen almost infinite. For by report they are of abilitie to bring into the field almost three score thousand most skilful soldiers; notwithstanding they have great want of horses. The tribe of Racmen occupie that desert which is next vnto Hacha.[66] They haue very large possessions, and doe in the springtime vsually trauell vnto Teffet: for then alwaies they haue somewhat to doe with the inhabitants there. Their people fit for armes are to the number of twelue thousand; albeit they haue very few horsemen. The nation of Hamrum inhabit the deserts of Tagauost, exacting some tribute of the inhabitants there, and with daily incursions likewise molesting the people of Nun. Their number of soldiers is almost eight thousand.[67]

### *The people descended of Deuimansor.*

THE generation of Dehemrum, which are saide to deriue their petigree from Deuimansor, inhabite the desert ouer against Segellmess, who continually wander by the Libyan deserts as farre as Ighid. They haue tributarie vnto them the people of Segelmesse, of Todgatan, of Tebelbelt, and of Dara.[68] Their soile yeeldeth such abundance of dates, that the yeerely increase thereof is sufficient to maintaine them, although they had nothing else to liue on. They are of great fame in other nations, being able to furnish for the warres about three thousand



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horsemen. There dwell likewise among these certaine other Arabians of more base condition, called in their language *Garfa Esgch;* which notwithstanding haue great abundance of horses and of all other cattell. A certaine part also of the people Hemrun obtaineth many and large possessions among the Numidians, from whence they haue a notable yeerely reuenue brought them in: this part of Hemrun maketh often excursions towards the deserts of Fighig. In summer they disperse themselues all ouer the prouince of Garet, possessing the east part of Mauritania. They are noble and honest persons, and endued with all kinde of humanitie and ciuilitie; insomuch that all the kings of Fez in a manner do vsually chuse them wiues out of the same tribe; needes therefore must there be great friendship and familiaritie among them. The people of Menebbe doe almost inhabite the very same desert, hauing two prouinces of Numidia vnder them; to wit, Matgara, and Retebbe. These also are a most valiant nation, being in pay vnder the prouince of Segelmess, and being able to make about two thousand horsemen. The kindred of Husein, which are thought to be descended of Deuimansor, are seated vpon the mountaines of Atlas. They haue in the said mountaines a large iurisdiction, namely diuers castles euerywhere, and many most rich and flourishing cities, all which, they thinke, were giuen them in olde time by the uice-royes of the Marini: for so soone as they had woon that kingdome, the kindred of Husein affoorded them great aide and seruice. Their dominion is now subiect vnto the kings of Fez and of Segelmess. They haue a captaine, which for the most part resideth at the citie commonly called Garseluin. Likewise, they are alwaies, in a manner, trauersing of that desert which in their language is called *Eddara.* They are taken to be a most rich and honest people, being of abilitie to furnish for the warres about sixe thousande horsemen. Among

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these you shall oftentimes finde many Arabians of another sort, whom they vse onely to be their seruants. The tribe of Abulhusein doe inhabite part of the foresaid desert of Eddara, howbeit a very smal part: the greatest number of whom are brought vnto such extreme miserie, that they haue not in those their wilde tents sufficient sustenance to liue vpon. True it is, that they haue built them certaine habitations vpon the Libyan deserts; but yet they are cruelly pinched with famine and with extreme penurie of all things: and (that there might be no end of their miserie) they are constrained to pay yeerely tribute vnto their kindred and parents.[69]

*The ofspring of Deuihubaidulla.*

ONE generation of the people of Deuihubaidulla are those which are named Gharrag: these enioy the deserts of Benigomi and Fighig,[70] hauing very large possessions in Numidia. They are stipendiaries vnto the king of Tremizen; who diligently endeuoreth to bring them to peace and tranquilitie of life; for they are wholy giuen to theft and robberie. In sommer time they vsually repaire unto Tremizen, where they are thought for that season of the yeere to settle their aboad: their horsemen are to the number of fower thousand, all which are most noble warriours. The kindred of Hedeg possesse a certaine desert neere vnto Tremizen, called in their owne language Hangad.[71] These haue no stipend from any prince, nor yet any iurisdiction at all, rapine and stealth is onely delightfull vnto them, they prouide onely for their familie and themselues, and are able to set foorth about fiue hundred horsemen. The tribe of Theleb inhabite the plaine of *Algezer: these haue often vagaries ouer the deserts vnto the prouince of Tedgear.[72] Vnto them were subiect in times past the most famous cities of Algezer and Tedelles:[73] howbeit in these our daies they were

* *Alger.*

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recouered againe from them by *Barbarossa* the Turke; which losse could not but greatly grieue and molest their king. It is reported moreouer, that at the same time, the principal of the said people of Theleb were cut off. For strength and cunning in chiualrie they were inferiour to no other nation; their horsemen were about three thousand. The tribe of Gehoan inhabite not all in one place: for part of them you may finde among the people of Guarag,[74] and the residue amongst the people of Hedeg, and they are vnto them no otherwise than their seruants, which condition they notwithstanding most patiently and willingly submit themselues vnto. And here one thing is to be noted by the way; to wit, that the two forenamed people called *Schachin[75] and Hilel are originally Arabians of Arabia deserta, and thinke themselues to be descended from *Ismael* the sonne of *Abraham*. And those which wee called Machil, came first forth of Arabia fœlix, and deriue their petigree from *Saba*. Before whom the Mahumetans preferre the former, which of *Ismael* are called Ismaelites. And because there hath alwaies beene great controuersie among them, which part should be of greater nobilitie, they haue written on both sides many dialogues and epigrams, whereby each man is woont to blaze the renowne, the vertuous manners, and laudable customes of his owne nation. The ancient Arabians, which were before the times of the Ismaelites, were called by the African historiographers Arabi-Araba, as if a man should say, Arabians of Arabia. But those which came of *Ismael*, they call Arabi Mus-Araba, as if they should say, Arabians ingrassed into the land of Arabia, or Arabians accidentally, because they were not originally bred & borne in Arabia.[76] And thē which afterward came into Africa, they name in their language Mustehgeme, that is, barbarous Arabians; and that because they ioyned themselues vnto strangers insomuch that not only their speech, but their manners

** The Arabians called Cachin and Hilel descended from Ismael the base sonne of Abraham.*

*The Arabians called Machil descended of Saba.*

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also are most corrupt and barbarous. These are (friendly reader) the particulars, which for these ten yeeres my memorie could reserue, as touching the originals and diuersities of the Africans and Arabians; in all which time I remember not, that euer I read or saw any historie of that nation. He that will know more, let him haue recourse vnto *Hibnu Rachu* the historiographer before-named.

### *The manners and customes of the African people, which inhabit the desert of Libya.*

THose fiue kindes of people before rehearsed, to wit, the people of Zenega, of Gansiga, of Terga, of Leuta, and of Bardeoa, are called of the Latins *Numidæ:* and they liue all after one manner, that is to say, without all lawe and ciuilitie. Their garment is a narrow and base peece of cloth, wherewith scarce halfe their bodie is couered. Some of them wrap their heads in a kinde of blacke cloth, as it were with a scarfe, such as the Turks vse, which is commonly called a Turbant. Such as will be discerned from the common sort, for gentlemen, weare a iacket made of blew cotton wiah wide sleeues. And cotton-cloth is brought vnto them by certaine merchants from the land of Negros. They haue no beastes fit to ride vpon except their camels; vnto whom nature, betweene the bunch standing vpon the hinder part of their backes and their neckes, hath allotted a place, which may fitly serue to ride vpon, in stead of a saddle. Their manner of riding is most ridiculous. For sometimes they lay their legs acrosse vpon the camels neck; and sometimes againe (hauing no knowledge nor regard of stirrops) they rest their feete vpon a rope, which is cast ouer his shoulders. In stead of spurres they vse a truncheon of a cubites length, hauing at the one end thereof a goad, wherewith they pricke onely the shoulders of their camels.

*The people of Numidia.*

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Those camels which they vse to ride vpon haue a hole bored through the gristles of their nose, in the which a ring of leather is fastened, whereby as with a bit, they are more easily curbed and mastred; after which manner I haue seene buffles vsed in Italie. For beds, they lie vpon mats made of sedge and bulrushes. Their tents are couered for the most part with course chamlet, or with a harsh kinde of wooll which commonly groweth vpon the boughes of their date-trees. As for their manner of liuing, it would seeme to any man incredible what hunger and scarcitie this nation will indure. Bread they haue none at all, neither vse they any seething or rosting; their foode is camels milke onely, and they desire no other dainties. For their breakefast they drinke off a great cup of camels milke: for supper they haue certaine dried flesh stieped in butter and milke, wherof each man taking his share, eateth it out of his fist. And that this their meate may not stay long vndigested in their stomackes, they sup off the foresaid broth wherein their flesh was steeped: for which purpose they vse the palmes of their hands as a most fit instrument framed by nature to the same end. After that, each one drinks his cup of milk, & so their supper hath an ende. These Numidians, while they haue any store of milke, regard water nothing at all, which for the most part happeneth in the spring of the yeere, all which time you shall finde some among them that will neither wash their hands nor their faces. Which seemeth not altogether to be vnlikely; for (as we said before) while their milke lasteth, they frequent not those places where water is common: yea, and their camels, so long as they may feede vpon grasse, will drinke no water at all. They spende their whole daies in hunting and theeuing: for all their indeuour and exercise is to driue away the camels of their enemies; neither will they remaine aboue three daies in one place, by reason that

*Wooll growing vpon the Palme tree.*

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they haue not pasture any longer for the sustenance of their camels. And albeit (as is aforesaid) they haue no ciuilitie at all, nor any lawes prescribed vnto them; yet haue they a certaine gouernour or prince placed ouer them, vnto whom they render obedience and due honour, as vnto their king. They are not onely ignorant of all good learning and liberall sciences; but are likewise altogether careles and destitute of vertue: insomuch that you shall finde scarce one amongst them all which is a man of iudgement or counsell. And if any iniured partie will goe to the lawe with his adversarie, he must ride continually five or sixe daies before he can come to the speech of any iudge. This nation hath all learning and good disciplines in such contempt, that they will not once vouchsafe to goe out of their deserts for the studie and attaining thereof: neither, if any learned man shall chance to come among them, can they loue his companie and conuersation, in regarde of their most rude and detestable behauiour. Howbeit, if they can finde any iudge, which can frame himselfe to liue and continue among them, to him they giue most large yeerely allowance. Some allow their iudge a thousand ducats yeerely, some more, and some lesse, according as themselues thinke good. They that will seeme to be accounted of the better sort, couer their heads (as I said before) with a peece of blacke cloth, part whereof, like a vizard or maske, reacheth downe ouer their faces, couering all their countenance except their eies; and this is their daily kinde of attire. And so often as they put meate into their mouthes they remooue the said maske, which being done, they foorthwith couer their mouths again; alleging this fond reason: for (say they) as it is vnseemely for a man, after he hath receiued meate into his stomack, to vomite it out of his mouth againe and to cast it vpon the earth; euen so it is an vndecent part to eate meate with a mans mouth vncouered. The

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women of this nation be grosse, corpulent, and of a swart complexion. They are fattest vpon their brest and paps, but slender about the girdle-stead. Very ciuill they are, after their manner, both in speech and gestures: sometimes they will accept of a kisse; but whoso tempteth them farther, putteth his owne life in hazard. For by reason of iealousie you may see them daily one to be the death and destruction of another, and that in such sauage and brutish manner, that in this case they will shew no compassion at all. And they seeme to be more wise in this behalfe then diuers of our people, for they will by no meanes match themselues vnto an harlot. The liberalitie of this people hath at all times beene exceeding great. And when any trauellers may passe through their drie and desert territories, they will neuer repaire vnto their tents, neither will they themselues trauell vpon the common highway. And if any carouan or multitude of merchants will passe those deserts, they are bound to pay certaine custome vnto the prince of the said people, namely, for euery camels load a peece of cloth woorth a ducate. Vpon a time I remember that trauelling in the companie of certaine merchants ouer the desert called by them Araoan, it was our chaunce there to meete with the prince of Zanaga; who, after he had receiued his due custome, inuited the said companie of merchants, for their recreation, to goe and abide with him in his tents fower or fiue daies. Howbeit, because his tents were too farre out of our way, and for that we should haue wandered farther then we thought good, esteeming it more conuenient for vs to hold on our direct course, we refused his gentle offer, and for his courtesie gaue him great thanks. But not being satisfied therewith, he commanded that our camels should proceede on forward, but the merchants he carried along with him, and gaue them very sumptuous entertainment at his place of aboad. Where wee were no sooner arriued, but this good prince

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caused camels of all kindes and ostriches, which he had hunted and taken by the way, to bee killed for his houshold prouison. Howbeit we requested him not to make such daily slaughters of his camels; affirming moreouer, that we neuer vsed to eate the flesh of a gelt camell, but when all other victuals failed vs. Whereunto hee answered, that he should deale vnciuilly, if he welcommed so woorthie and so seldome-seene guests with the killing of small cattell onely. Wherefore he wished vs to fall to such prouision as was set before vs. Here might you haue seene great plentie of rosted and sodden flesh: their roasted ostriches were brought to the table in wicker platters, being seasoned with sundrie kindes of herbes and spices. Their bread made of Mill and panicke was of a most sauorie and pleasante taste: and alwaies at the end of dinner or supper we had plentie of dates and great store of milke serued in. Yea, this bountifull and noble prince, that he might sufficiently shew how welcome we were vnto him, would together with his nobilitie alwaies beare vs companie: howbeit we euer dined and supped apart by our selues. Moreouer he caused certaine religious and most learned men to come vnto our banquet; who, all the time we remained with the said prince, vsed not to eate any bread at all, but fed onely vpon flesh and milke. Whereat we being somewhat amazed, the good prince gently told vs, that they all were borne in such places whereas no kinde of graine would grow: howbeit that himselfe, for the entertainment of strangers, had great plentie of corne laid vp in store. Wherefore he bad vs to be of good cheere, saying that he would eate onely of such things as his owne natiue soile affoorded: affirming moreouer, that bread was yet in vse among them at their feast of passouer, and at other feasts also, whereupon they vsed to offer sacrifice. And thus we remained with him for the space of two daies; all which time, what woonderfull and

*Camels and ostriches vsed for victuals.*

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magnificent cheere we had made vs, would seeme incredible to report. But the third day, being desirous to take our leaue, the prince accompanied vs to that place where we ouertooke our camels and companie sent before. And this I dare most deepely take mine oath on, that we spent the saide prince ten times more, then our custome which he recieued came to. Wee thought it not amisse here to set downe this historie, to declare in some sort the courtesie and liberalitie of the said nation. Neither could the prince aforesaid vnderstand our language nor we his; but all our speech to and fro was made by an interpreter. And this which we haue here recorded as touching this nation, is likewise to be vnderstood of the other fower nations aboue mentioned, which are dispersed ouer the residue of the Numidian deserts.[77]

## *The manners and customes of the Arabians which inhabite Africa.*

THE Arabians, as they haue sundrie mansions and places of aboad, so doe they liue after a diuers and sundry maner. Those which inhabite betweene Numidia and Libya leade a most miserable and distressed life, differing much in this regard from those Africans, whom wee affirmed to dwell in Libya. Howbeit they are farre more valiant than the said Africans; and vse commonly to exchange camels in the lande of Negros: they haue likewise great store of horses, which in Europe they cal horses of Barbarie. They take woonderfull delight in hunting and pursuing of deere, of wilde asses, of ostriches, and such like. Neither is it here to be omitted, that the greater part of Arabians which inhabite Numidia, are very wittie and conceited in penning of verses; wherein each man will decipher his loue, his hunting, his combates, and other his woorthie actes: and this is done for the most part in ryme, after the Italians manner. And albeit they are most

*Where the Barbarie horses are bred.*

*Arabian poems and verses.*

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liberally minded, yet dare they not by bountifull giuing make any shew of wealth; for they are daily oppressed with manifold inconueniences. They are apparelled after the Numidians fashion, sauing that their women differ somewhat from the women of Numidia. Those deserts which they doe now enioy were woont to be possessed by Africans: but the Arabians with their armie inuading that part of Africa, draue out the naturall Numidians, and reserued the deserts adioining vpon The land of dates, vnto themselues; but the Numidians began to inhabite those deserts which border vpon the land of Negros.[78] The Arabians which dwell betweene mount Atlas and the Mediterran sea are far wealthier then these which we now speake of, both for costlines of apparell, for good horse-meate, and for the statelines and beautie of their tents. Their horses also are of better shape and more corpulent, but not so swift as the horses of the Numidian desert. They exercise husbandrie and haue great increase of corne. Their droues and flockes of cattell be innumerable, insomuch that they cannot inhabite one by another for want of pasture. They are somewhat more vile and barbarous then those which inhabite the deserts, and yet they are not altogether destitute of liberalitie: part of them, which dwell in the territorie of Fez are subiect unto the king of Fez. Those which remaine in Marocco and Duccala haue continued this long time free from all exaction and tribute: but so soone as the king of Portugall began to beare rule ouer Azafi and Azamor, there began also among them strife and ciuill warre. Wherefore being assailed by the king of Portugall on the one side, and by the king of Fez on the other, and being oppressed also with the extreme famine and scarcitie of that yeere, they were brought vnto such miserie, that they freely offered themselves as slaues vnto the Portugals, submitting themselues to any man, that was willing to releeue their intolerable

*The Arabians offer themselues slaues to any that would releeue their extreme hunger.*

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hunger: and by this meanes scarce one of them was left in all Duccala. Moreouer those which possesse the deserts bordering vpon the kingdomes of Tremizen and Tunis may all of them, in regard of the rest, be called noblemen and gentlemen. For their gouernours receiuing euery yeere great reuenues from the king of Tunis, diuide the same afterward among their people, to the end they may auoid all discord: and by this meanes all dissension is eschewed, and peace is kept firme and inuiolable among them. They haue notable dexteritie and cunning, both in making of tents, and in bringing vp and keeping of horses. In summer time they vsually come neere vnto Tunis, to the end that each man may prouide himselfe of bread, armour, and other necessaries: all which they carrie with them into the deserts, remaining there the whole winter. In the spring of the yeere they applie themselues to hunting, insomuch that no beast can escape their pursuit. My selfe, I remember, was once at their tents, to my no little danger and inconuenience; where I sawe greater quantitie of cloth, brasse, yron, and copper, then a man shall oftentimes finde in the most rich warehouses of some cities. Howbeit no trust is to be giuen vnto them; for if occasion serue, they will play the theeues most slyly and cunningly; notwithstanding they seeme to carrie some shewe of ciuilitie. They take great delight in poetrie, and will pen most excellent verses, their language being very pure and elegant. If any woorthie poet be found among them, he is accepted by their gouernours with great honour and liberalitie; neither would any man easily beleeue what wit and decencie is in their verses. Their women (according to the guise of that countrie) goe very gorgeously attired: they weare linnen gownes died black, with exceeding wide sleeues, ouer which sometimes they cast a mantle of the same colour or of blew, the corners of which mantle are very artificially fastened about their shoulders with a fine

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siluer claspe. Likewise they haue rings hanging at their eares, which for the most part are made of siluer: they weare many rings also vpon their fingers. Moreouer they vsually weare about their thighes and ankles certaine scarfes and rings, after the fashion of the Africans. They couer their faces with certaine maskes hauing onely two holes for their eies to peepe out at. If any man chance to meete with them, they presently hide their faces, passing by him with silence, except it be some of their allies or kinsfolks; for vnto them they alwaies discouer their faces, neither is there any vse of the said maske so long as they be in presence.[79] These Arabians when they trauell any iourney (as they oftentimes doe) they set their women vpon certaine saddles made handsomely of wicker for the same purpose, and fastened to their camels backes, neither be they anything too wide, but fit onely for a woman to sit in. When they goe to the warres each man carries his wife with him, to the end that she may cheere vp her good man, and giue him encouragement. Their damsels which are vnmarried doe vsually paint their faces, brests, armes, hands, and fingers with a kinde of counterfeit colour:[80] which is accounted a most decent custome among them. But this fashion was first brought in by those Arabians, which before we called Africans, what time they began first of all to inhabite that region; for before then, they neuer vsed any false or glozing colours. The women of Barbarie vse not this fond kind of painting, but contenting themselues only with their naturall hiew, they regarde not such fained ornaments: howbeit sometimes they will temper a certaine colour with hens-dung and safron, wherewithall they paint a little round spot on the bals of their cheeks, about the bredth of a French crowne. Like wise betweene their eie-browes they make a triangle; and paint vpon their chinnes a patch like vnto an oliue leafe. Some of them also doe paint their eie-browes: and

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this custome is very highly esteemed of by the Arabian poets and by the gentlemen of that countrie. Howbeit they will not vse these fantasticall ornaments aboue two or three daies together: all which time they will not be seene to any of their friends, except it be to their husbands and children: for these paintings seeme to bee great allurements vnto lust, whereby the said women thinke themselues more trim and beautifull.

### *How the Arabians in the deserts betweene Barbarie and Aegypt doe lead their liues.*

THE life of these men is full of miserie and calamitie: for the places where they inhabite are barren and vnpleasant. They haue some store of camels and cattell: howbeit their fodder is so scarce, that they cannot well sustaine them. Neither shall you finde ouer all the whole region any place fit to beare corne. And if in that desert there be any villages at all, which vse to husband and manure their ground; yet reape they small commoditie thereby, except it be for plentifull increase of dates. Their camels and other of their cattell they exchange for dates and corne; and so the poore husbandmen of the foresaide villages haue some small recompence for their labours: notwithstanding, how can this satisfie the hunger of such a multitude? For you shall dayly see in Sicilia great numbers of their sonnes layde to pawne. Because when they haue not wherewithall to pay for the corne which they there buy, they are constrained to leaue their sonnes behinde them, as pledges of future payment. But the Sicilians, if their money be not paide them at the time appointed, will chalenge the Arabians sonnes to be their slaues. Which day being once past, if any father will redeem his childe, he must disburse thrise or fower times so much as the due debt amounteth vnto: for which cause they are the most notable theeues in the whole world. If any stranger fall

*The Arabians of Barca lay their sonnes to pawne vnto the Sicilians for corne.*

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into their hands, depriuing him of all that he hath, they presently carrie him to Sicilie, and there either sell or exchange him for corne. And I thinke, that no merchants durst at any time within these hundred yeeres arriue for traffiques sake vpon any part of their coast. For when they are to passe by with merchandize, or about any other weightie affaires, they eschew that region fiue hundred miles at the least. Once I remember, that I my selfe, for my better securitie, and to auoide the danger of those mischievous people, went in companie with certaine merchants, who in three ships sayled along their coast. We were no sooner espied of them; but forthwith they came running to the shore, making signes that they would traffique with vs to our great aduantage. Howbeit because we durst not repose any trust in them, none of our companie would depart the ship, before they had deliuered certaine pledges vnto vs. Which being done, we bought certaine Eunuchs or gelded men, and good store of butter of them. And so immediately weighing our ankers we betooke vs to flight, fearing least we should haue beene met withall by the Sicilian and Rhodian Pirates, and beene spoiled not onely of our goods, but of our liberties also. To be short, the saide Arabians are verie rude, forlorne, beggerly, leane, and hunger-starued people, hauing God (no doubt) alwaies displeased against them, by whose vengeance they dayly sustaine such grieuous calamities.[81]

*Of the people called Soara, namely, which possesse droues and flockes of cattell, and being Africans by birth, do notwithstanding imitate the manners of the Arabians.*

YOV shall finde many among the Africans which liue altogither a shepheards or drouers life, inhabiting vpon the beginning of mount Atlas, and being dispersed here and there ouer the same mountaine. They are con-



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strained alwaies to pay tribute either to the King of the same region where they dwell, or else to the Arabians, except those onely which inhabite Temesna, who are free from all forren superioritie, and are of great power. They speake the same kinde of language that other Africanes doe, except some fewe of them which conuerse with the inhabitants of the citie called Vrbs (which is neere vnto Tunis)[82] who speake the Arabian toong. Moreouer there is a certaine people inhabiting that region which diuideth Numidia from Tunis. These oftentimes wage warre against the King of Tunis himselfe, which they put in practice not many yeeres since, when as the said King his sonne marching towards them from Constantina with an armie, for the demaunding of such tribute as was due vnto him, fought a verie vnfortunate battell. For no sooner were they aduertised of the Kings sonne his approach, but foorthwith they went to meete him with two thousande horsemen, and at length vanquished and slew him at vnawares, carrying home with them all the furniture, bag, and baggage, which he had brought foorth. And this was done in the yeere of Mahumets Hegeira 915. From that time their fame hath beene spred abroad in all places. Yea, many of the king of Tunis his subiects reuolted from their King vnto them; insomuch that the Prince of this people is growen so puissant, that scarcely is his equall to be found in all Africa.[83]

*The ouerthrow and death of the King of Tunis his sonne.*

### *Of the faith and religion of the ancient Africans or Moores.*

THE ancient Africans were much addicted to idolatrie, euen as certain of the Persians are at this day, some of whom worship the sunne, and others the fire, for their gods. For the saide Africans had in times past magnificent and most stately temples built and dedicated, as well to the honour of the sunne as of the fire. In these

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temples day and night they kept fire kindled, giuing diligent heed that it might not at any time be extinguished, euen as we read of the Romane Vestall virgines: All which you may read more fully and at large in the Persian and African Chronicles. Those Africans which inhabited Libya and Numidia, would each of them worship some certaine planet, vnto whom likewise they offered sacrifices and praiers. Some others of the land of Negros worship *Guighimo*, that is to say, *The Lord of Heauen.* And this sound point of religion was not deliuered vnto them by any Prophet or teacher, but was inspired, as it were, from God himselfe. After that, they embraced the Iewish law, wherein they are said to haue continued many yeeres. Afterward they professed the Christian religion, and continued Christians, vntil such time as the *Mahumetan* superstition preuailed; which came to passe in the yeere of the Hegeira 208. About which time certaine of *Mahomets* disciples so bewitched them with eloquent and deceiueable speeches, that they allured their weake minds to consent vnto their opinion; insomuch that all the kingdomes of the Negros adioyning vnto Libya receiued the *Mahumetan* lawe. Neither is there any region in all the Negros land, which hath in it at this day any Christians at all. At the same time such as were found to be Iewes, Christians, or of the African religion, were slaine euerie man of them. Howbeit those which dwell neere vnto the Ocean sea, are all of them verie grosse idolaters. Betweene whom and the Portugals there hath beene from time to time and euen at this present is, great traffique and familiaritie. The inhabitants of Barbarie continued for many yeeres idolaters; but before the comming of *Mahomet* aboue 250. yeeres, they are saide to haue embraced the Christian faith: which some thinke came to passe vpon this occasion; namely, because that part of Barbarie which containeth the king-



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dome of Tripolis and Tunis, was in times past gouerned by *Apulian & Sicilian* Captaines, and the countries of *Cæfaria and of *Mauritania are supposed to haue beene subiect vnto the Gothes. At what time also many Christians fleeing from the furie and madnes of the Gothes left their sweet natiue soyle of Italy, and at length arriued in Africa neere vnto Tunis: where hauing setled their aboad for some certaine space, they began at length to haue the dominion ouer all that region. Howbeit the Christians which inhabited Barbaria, not respecting the rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome, followed the Arrians religion and forme of liuing: and one of the African Christians was that most godly and learned father Saint *Augustine*.[84] When the Arabians therefore came to conquer that part of Africa they found Christians to be Lords ouer the regions adiacent; of whom, after sundry hot conflicts, the saide Arabians got the victorie. Whereupon the Arrians being depriued of all their dominions and goods went part of them into Italy and part into Spaine. And so about two hundred yeeres after the death of *Mahumet*, almost all Barbarie was infected with his law. Howbeit afterward, ciuile dissensions arising among them, neglecting the law of *Mahumet*, they slue all the priests and gouernours of that region. Which tumult when it came to the eares of the Mahumetan Caliphas, they sent an huge armie against the saide rebels of Barbarie, to wit, those which were reuolted from the Calipha of Bagdet, and seuerely punished their misdemeanor. And euen at the same time was layd the most pernitious foundation of the Mahumetan law; notwithstanding there haue remained many heresies among them euen vntil this verie day. As touching the patrons of the Mahumetan lawe, and likewise concerning the difference in religion betweene the Mahumetans of Africa, and them of Asia, we will (by Gods grace) write more in another seuerall volume; and in the meane

**Tremizen.*

** Maroco and Fez.*

*A booke written by Iohn Leo concerning the Mahumetan religion.*

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season, let these particulars which we haue noted suffice the Reader.

*Of the letters and characters of the Africans.*

THose writers which record the histories of the Arabians doings are all iointly of opinion, that the Africans were woont to vse onely the Latine letters. And they doe most constantly affirme, that the Arabians, when they first inuaded Africa and especially Barbarie (which was the principall seate of the Africans) found no letters nor characters there, beside the Latine. Neither indeede doe they denie that the Africans haue a peculiar kinde of language, but this they firmly auouch, that they haue the very same letters which the Hetrurians or Florentines a people of Italie haue. The Arabians haue no historie* of African matters, which was not first written in Latine. They haue certaine ancient authors, who writ partly in the times of the Arrians and partly before their times, the names of all which are cleane forgotten. Howbeit it is very likely that those Latine authors have written many volumes: for when their interpreters laboured to perswade something unto vs, I remember they would say, it is contained in the seuentieth booke. Neither did they in translating of the said volumes altogether follow the authors order; but taking the historie of some one prince, they would conioine his time and actions with the historie of the Persian, Assyrian, and Chaldæan kings, or of the Israelites, which concerned the same times. But when as those which rebelled against the Calipha of Bagdet (as is aforesaid) got the vpper hand in Africa, they burnt all the Africans bookes. For they were of opinion, that the Africans, so long as they had any knowledge of naturall philosophie or of other good artes and sciences, would euery day more and more arrogantly contemne the lawe of Mahumet. Contrariwise, some historiographers there

*The Africans vsed in times past none other kind of letters but the Roman letters.*

* *Perhaps he meaneth the histories of Salust, Titus Liuius, and others.*

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are which affirme, that the Africans had a kinde of letters peculiar vnto themselues; which notwithstanding, from the time wherein the Italians began first to inhabite Barbarie, and wherein the Christians fleeing out of Italie from the Gothes, began to subdue those prouinces of Africa, were vtterly abolished and taken away. For it is likely that a people vanquished shoulde follow the customes and the letters also of their conquerors. And did not the same thing happen to the Persians, while the Arabians empire stood? For certaine it is, that the Persians at the same time lost those letters which were peculiar vnto their nation: and that all their bookes, by the commandement of the Mahumetan prelates, were burnt, least their knowledge in naturall philosophie, or their idolatrous religion might mooue them to contemne the precepts of Mahumet. The like also (as we shewed before) befell the Barbarians when as the Italians and the Gothes vsurped their dominions in Barbarie; which may here (I hope) suffice the gentle reader. Howbeit this is out of doubt, that all the sea-cities and inland-cities of Barbarie doe vse Latine letters onely, whensoeuer they will commit any epitaphes or any other verses or prose vnto posteritie. The consideration of all which former particulars hath made me to be of opinion, that the Africans in times past had their owne proper and peculiar letters, wherein they described their doings and exploites. For it is likely that the Romans, when they first subdued those prouinces (as conquerours vsually doe) vtterly spoiled and tooke away all their letters and memorie, and established their owne letters in the stead thereof; to the end that the fame and honour of the Roman people might there onely be continued. And who knoweth not that the very same attempt was practised by the Goths vpon the stately buildings of the Romans, and by the Arabians against the monuments of the Persians. The very same

*The Mahumetan Califas caused all the bookes of the Persians to be burned.*

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thing likewise we daily see put in practice by the Turks, who when they haue gotten any citie or towne from the Christians, doe presently cast foorth of the temples all the images and memorials of their saints. And to omit all the aforesaid, may we not in our time see the like daily practised in Rome ; where sumptuous and stately buildings left vnperfect by reason of the vntimely death of one Pope, are for some noueltie vtterly ruined and destroied by his next successour ? Or else, doth not the new Pope cause his predecessours armes to be razed, and his owne in stead thereof to be set vp ? Or at the least, if he will not seeme so arrogant, letting his predecessours monuments stand still, doth he not erect others for himselfe farre more sumptuous and stately ? No maruell therefore, though so long successe of times and so many alterations haue quite bereaued the Africans of their letters. Concerning those nine hundred yeeres wherein the Africans vsed the letters of the Arabians, *Ibnu Rachich*, a most diligent writer of Africa, doth in his Chronicle most largely dispute ; whether the Africans euer had any peculiar kinde of writing or no. And at last he concludeth the affirmatiue part ; that they had : for (saith he) whosoeuer denieth this, may as well denie, that they had a language peculiar vnto themselues. For it cannot be that any people should haue a proper kinde of speech, and yet should vse letters borrowed from other nations, and being altogether vnfit for their mother-language.[85]

### *Of the situation of Africa.*

AS there are fower partes in Africa, so the situation thereof is not in all places alike. That part which lieth towards the Mediterran sea, that is to say, from the streites of Gibraltar to the frontiers of Aegypt, is here and there full of mountaines : Southward it is extended about a hundred miles, albeit in some places it be larger and in

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some other narrower. From the saide mountaines vnto mount Atlas there is a very spatious plaine & many little hillocks. Fountaines there are in this region great store, which meeting together at one head doe send foorth most beautifull riuers and cristall streames. Betweene the foresaid mountaines and the plaine countrie is situate the mountaine of Atlas; which beginning westward vpon the Ocean sea, stretcheth it selfe towards the east as farre as the borders of Aegypt. Ouer against Atlas lieth that region of Numidia which beareth dates, being euerywhere almost sandie ground. Betweene Numidia and the land of Negros is the sandie desert of Libya situate, which containeth many mountaines also; howbeit merchants trauell not that way, when as they may goe other waies with more ease and lesse danger. Beyond the Libyan desert beginneth the land of Negros, all places whereof are barren and sandie except those which adioine vpon the riuer of Niger, or through the which any riuer or streame runneth.

*Of the vnpleasant and snowie places in Africa.*

ALl the region of Barbarie, and the mountaines contained therein, are subiect more to cold then to heat. For seldome commeth any gale of winde which bringeth not some snow therwith. In al the said mountaines there grow abundance of fruits, but not so great plentie of corne. The inhabitants of these mountaines liue for the greatest part of the yeere vpon barlie bread. The springs and riuers issuing foorth of the said mountaines, representing the qualitie and taste of their natiue soile, are somewhat muddie and impure, especially vpon the confines of Mauritania. These mountaines likewise are replenished with woods and loftie trees, and are greatly stored with beastes of all kindes. But the little hils and vallies lying betweene the foresaid mountaines

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and mount Atlas are far more commodious, and abounding with corne. For they are moistened with riuers springing out of Atlas, and from thence holding on their course to the Mediterran sea. And albeit woods are somewhat more scarce vpon these plaines, yet are they much more fruitfull, then be the plaine countries situate betweene Atlas and the Ocean sea, as namely the regions of Maroco, of Duccala, of Tedles, of Temesna, of Azgara, and the countrie lying towards the straites of Gibraltar. The mountaines of Atlas are exceedingly colde and barren, and bring foorth but small store of corne, beeing woody on all sides, and engendring almost all the riuers of Africa. The fountaines of Atlas are euen in the midst of summer extremely cold; so that if a man dippeth his hand therein for any long space, he is in great danger of loosing the same. Howbeit the said mountaines are not so cold in all places: for some partes thereof are of such milde temperature, that they may be right commodiously inhabited: yea and sundry places thereof are well stored with inhabitants; as in the second part of this present discourse we will declare more at large. Those places which are destitute of inhabitants be either extremely cold, as namely the same which lie ouer against Mauritania: or very rough and vnpleasant, to wit, those which are directly opposite to the region of Temesna. Where notwithstanding in summer time they may feede their great and small cattell, but not in winter by any meanes. For then the North winde so furiously rageth, bringing with it such abundance of snowe; that all the cattell which till then remaine vpon the saide mountaines, and a great part of the people also are forced to lose their liues in regard thereof: wherefore whosoeuer hath any occasion to trauell that way in winter time, chuseth rather to take his iourney betweene Mauritania and Numidia. Those merchants which bring dates out of Numidia for the vse and seruice

*The mountaines of Atlas exceeding cold.*

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of other nations, set foorth vsually vpon their iourney about the ende of October; and yet they are oftentimes so oppressed and ouertaken with a sudden fall of snowe, that scarcely one man among them all escapeth the danger of the tempest. For when it beginneth to snow ouer night, before the next morning not onely carts and men, but euen the verie trees are so drowned & ouerwhelmed therein, that it is not possible to finde any mention of them. Howbeit the dead carcases are then founde when the sunne hath melted the snow. I my selfe also, by the goodnes of almighty God, twise escaped the most dreadfull danger of the foresaid snow; whereof, if it may not be tedious to the reader, I will heere in a few wordes make relation. Vpon a certaine day of the foresaid moneth of October, trauelling with a great companie of Merchants towards Atlas, we were there about the sunne going downe weather-beaten with a most cold and snowy kinde of hayle. Here we found eleuen or twelue horsemen (Arabians to our thinking) who perswading vs to leaue our carts and to goe with them, promised vs a good and secure place to lodge in. For mine owne part, that I might not seeme altogether vnciuill, I thought it not meete to refuse their good offer; albeit I stood in doubt least they went about to practise some mischiefe. Wherefore I bethought my self to hide vp a certaine summe of gold which I had as then about me. But all being ready to ride, I had no leisure to hide away my coine from them; whereupon I fained that I would goe ease myselfe. And so departing a while their companie, and getting me vnder a certaine tree, whereof I tooke diligent notice, I buried my money betweene certaine stones and the root of the said tree. And then we rode on quietly till about midnight. What time one of them thinking that he had staied long ynough for his pay, began to vtter that in words which secretly he had conceiued in his minde. For he asked whether I had

*Most wonderfull and terrible snowes.*

*The extreme danger of snow which Iohn Leo himselfe escaped.*

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any money about me or no? To whom I answered, that I had left my money behind with one of them which attended the cartes, and that I had then none at all about me.[86] Howbeit they being no whit satisfied with this answer, commanded me, for all the cold weather, to strip my selfe out of mine apparell. At length when they could find no money at all, they said in iesting & scoffing wise, that they did this for no other purpose, but onely to see how strong and hardie I was, and how I could endure the cold and tempestuous season. Well, on we rode, seeking our way as well as we could that darke and dismall night; and anone we heard the bleating of sheepe, coniecturing thereby, that we were not farre distant from some habitation of people. Wherefore out of hand we directed our course thitherwards: being constrained to leade our horses through thicke woods and ouer steepe and craggie rocks, to the great hazard and perill of our liues. And at length after many labours, wee found shepherds in a certaine caue: who, hauing with much paines brought their cattell in there, had kindled a lustie fire for themselues, which they were constrained, by reason of the extreme cold, daily to sit by. Who vnderstanding our companie to be Arabians, feared at the first that we would do them some mischiefe: but afterward being perswaded that we were driuen thither by extremitie of cold, and being more secure of vs, they gaue vs most friendly entertainment. For they set bread, flesh, and cheese[87] before vs, wherewith hauing ended our suppers, we laid vs along each man to sleep before the fire. All of vs were as yet exceeding cold, but especially my selfe, who before with great horrour and trembling was stripped starke naked. And so we continued with the said shepherds for the space of two daies: all which time we could not set foorth, by reason of continuall snowe. But the thirde day, so soone as they saw it leaue snowing, with great labour

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they began to remooue that snowe which lay before the doore of their caue. Which done, they brought vs to our horses, which we found well prouided of hay in another caue.[88] Being all mounted, the shepherds accompanied vs some part of our way, shewing vs where the snowe was of least depth, and yet euen there it touched our horse bellies. This day was so cleere, that the sunne tooke away all the cold of the two daies going before. At length entring into a certaine village neere vnto Fez, we vnderstood, that our cartes which passed by, were ouerwhelmed with the snowe. Then the Arabians seeing no hope of recompence for all the paines they had taken (for they had defended our carts from theeues) carried a certaine Iew of our companie with them as their captive (who had lost a great quantitie of dates, by reason of the snowe aforesaid) to the end that he might remaine as their prisoner, till he had satisfied for all the residue. From my selfe they tooke my horse, and committed mee vnto the wide world and to fortune. From whence, riding vpon a mule, within three daies I arriued at Fez, where I heard dolefull newes of our merchants and wares, that they were cast away in the snowe. Yea, they thought that I had beene destroied with the rest; but it seemed that God would haue it otherwise. Now, hauing finished the historie of mine owne misfortunes, let vs returne vnto that discourse where we left. Beyond Atlas there are certaine hot & dry places moistened with very few riuers, but those which flow out of Atlas it selfe: some of which riuers running into the Libyan deserts are dried vp with the sands, but others do ingender lakes. Neither shal you finde in these countries any places apt to bring forth corne, notwithstanding they haue dates in abundance. There are also certaine other trees bearing fruit, but in so small quantitie, that no increase nor gaine is to be reaped by them. You may see likewise in those partes of Numidia which border vpon

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Libya certaine barren hils destitute of trees, vpon the lower parts whereof growe nothing but vnprofitable thornes and shrubs. Among these mountaines you shall finde no riuers nor springs, nor yet any waters at all, except it be in certaine pits and wels almost vnknowen vnto the inhabitants of that region. Moreouer in sixe or seuen daies iourney they haue not one drop of water, but such as is brought vnto them by certaine merchants vpon camels backes. And that especially in those places which lye vpon the maine road from Fez to Tombuto, or from Tremizen to *Agad. That iourney likewise is verie dangerous which is of late found out by the merchants of our daies from Fez to Alcair[87] ouer the deserts of Libya, were it not for an huge lake in the way, vpon the bankes whereof the Sinites and the Goranites doe inhabite.[88] But in the way which leadeth from Fez to Tombuto are certaine pits enuironed either with the hides or bones of camels. Neither doe the merchants in sommer time passe that way without great danger of their liues: for oftentimes it falleth out, when the south winde bloweth, that all those pits are stopped vp with sande. And so the merchants, when they can finde neither those pits, nor any mention thereof, must needes perish with extreame thirst: whose carcases are afterward found lying scattered here and there, and scorched with the heat of the sunne.[89] One remedie they haue in this case, which is verie strange: for when they are so grieuously oppressed with thirst, they kill foorthwith some one of their camels, out of whose bowels they wring and expresse some quantitie of water, which water they drinke and carrie about with them, till they haue either found some pit of water, or till they pine away for thirst. In the desert which they cal Azaoad there are as yet extant two monuments built of marble, vpon which marble is an Epitaphe engrauen, signifying that one of the said monuments represented a most rich

* *Agades.*

*A strange remedie vsed by the African merchants to quench their thirst.*

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merchant, and the other a carrier or transporter of wares. Which wealthie merchant bought of the carrier a cup of water for tenne thousand ducates, and yet this pretious water could suffice neither of them; for both of them were consumed with thirst.[90] This desert likewise containeth sundry kinds of beasts, which in the fourth part of this discourse concerning Libya, and in our treatise of the beasts of Africa, we will discourse of more at large. I was determined to haue written more cōcerning those things which happened vnto my selfe & the rest of my company trauelling through the Libyan deserts vnto Gualata. For somtime being sore a thirst, we could not find one drop of water, partly because our guide strayed out of the direct course, and partly because our enemies had cut off the springs and chanels of the foresaid pits and wels. Insomuch that the small quantitie of water which we found, was sparingly to be kept; for that which would scarce suffice vs for fiue daies, we were constrained to keepe for ten. But if I should commit to writing all things woorthie of memorie, a whole yeare were not sufficient for me. The lande of Negros is extreme hot, hauing some store of moysture also, by reason of the riuer of Niger running through the midst thereof. All places adioining vpon Niger doe mightily abound both with cattle & corne. No trees I saw there but only certain great ones, bearing a kind of bitter fruit like vnto a chestnut, which in their language is called Goron.[91] Likewise in the same regions grow Cocos, cucumbers, onions, and such kinde of herbes and fruits in great abundance. There are no mountaines at all either in Libya or in the land of Negros: howbeit diuers fennes and lakes there are; which (as men report) the inundation of Niger hath left behinde it. Neither are the woods of the said regions altogether destitute of Elephants and other strange beasts; whereof we will make relation in their due place.

*A merchant constrained by extreme thirst, gaue ten thousand duckats for a cup of water.*

*The fruit called Goran. Cocos. Cucumbers. Onions.*

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*What naturall impressions and motions the aire of Africa is subiect vnto; and what effects ensue thereupon.*

THroughout the greatest part of Barbarie stormie and cold weather begin commonly about the midst of October. But in December and Ianuarie the cold groweth somewhat more sharpe in all places: howbeit this happeneth in the morning onely, but so gently and remissely, that no man careth greatly to warme himselfe by the fire. Februarie somewhat mitigateth the cold of winter, but that so inconstantly, that the weather changeth sometime fiue and sometime sixe times in one day. In March the north and west windes vsually blowe, which cause the trees to be adorned with blossoms. In Aprill all fruits attaine to their proper forme and shape, insomuch that cherries are commonly ripe about the end of Aprill and the beginning of May. In the midst of May they gather their figs: and in mid-Iune their grapes are ripe in many places. Likewise their peares, their sweete quinces and their damascens attaine vnto sufficient ripenes in the moneths of Iune and Iulie. Their figs of Autumne may be gathered in August; howbeit they neuer haue so great plentie of figs and peaches, as in September. By the midst of August they vsually begin to drie their grapes in the sun, whereof they make reisins. Which if they cannot finish in September, by reason of vnseasonable weather, of their grapes as then vngathered they vse to make wine and must, especially in the prouince of Rifa, as we will in due place signifie more at large. In the midst of October they take in their honie, and gather their pomegranates and quinces. In Nouember they gather their oliues, not climing vp with ladders nor plucking them with their hands, according to the custome of Europe; for the trees of Mauritania and Cæsarea are so tal, that no ladder is long ynough to reach vnto the fruit. And therefore their oliues being full ripe, they clime the

*The oliues of Africa.*

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trees, beating them off the boughes with certaine long poles, albeit they know this kinde of beating to be most hurtfull vnto the saide trees. Sometimes they haue great plentie of oliues in Africa, and sometimes as great scarcitie. Certaine great oliue-trees there are, the oliues whereof are eaten ripe by the inhabitants, because they are not so fit for oile. No yeere falles out to be so vnseasonable, but that they haue three monethes in the spring alwaies temperate. They begin their spring vpon the fifteenth day of Februarie, accounting the eighteenth of May for the ende thereof: all which time they haue most pleasant weather. But if from the fiue and twentith of Aprill, to the fifth of May they haue no raine fall, they take it as a signe of ill lucke. And the raine-water which falleth all the time aforesaid they call Naisan, that is, water blessed of God. Some store it vp in vessels, most religiously keeping it, as an holy thing. Their summer lasteth till the sixteenth of August; all which time they haue most hot and cleere weather. Except perhaps some showers of raine fall in Iuly and August, which doe so infect the aire, that great plague and most pestilent feuers ensue thereupon; with which plague whosoeuer is infected, most hardly escapeth death. Their Autumne they reckon from the 17. of August to the 16. of Nouember; hauing commonly in the moneths of August and September not such extreme heate as before. Howbeit all the time betweene the 15. of August and the 15. of September is called by them the furnace of the whole yeere, for that it bringeth figs, quinces, and such kinde of fruits to their full maturitie. From the 15. of Nouember they begin their winter-season, continuing the same till the 14. day of Februarie. So soone as winter commeth, they begin to till their ground which lieth in the plaines: but vpon the mountaines they goe to plough in October. The Africans are most certainly perswaded that euery yeere containeth

*Raine signifying plentie or scarcitie.*

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fortie extreme hot daies, beginning vpon the 12. of Iune; and againe so many daies extreme cold, beginning from the 12. of December. Their *Aequinoctia* are vpon the 16. of March, and the 16. of September. For their *Solstitia* they account the 16. of Iune and the 16. of December. These rules they doe most strictly obserue, as well in husbandrie and nauigation, as in searching out the houses and true places of the planets: and these instructions, with other such like they teach their yoong children first of all. Many countrie-people and husbandmen there be in Africa, who knowing (as they say) neuer a letter of the booke, will notwithstanding most learnedly dispute of Astrologie, & alleage most profoũd reasons & arguments for themselues. But whatsoeuer skill they haue in the art of Astrologie, they first learned the same of the Latines: yea they giue those very names vnto their moneths which the Latines do. Moreouer they had extãt among them a certaine great booke diuided into three volumes, which they call The treasurie or storehouse of husbandrie. This booke was then translated out of Latine into their toong, when *Mansor* was Lord of Granada. In the said Treasurie are all things contained which may seeme in any wise to concerne husbandrie; as namely, the changes and varietie of times, the manner of sowing, with a number of such like particulars, which (I thinke) at this day the Latine toong it selfe, whereout these things were first translated, doth not containe.[92] Whatsoeuer either the Africans or the Mahumetans haue, which seemeth to appertaine in any wise to their law or religion, they make their computation thereof altogether according to the course of the moone. Their yeere is divided into 354. daies: for vnto sixe moneths they allot 30. daies, and vnto the other sixe but 29; all which being added into one summe doe produce the number aforesaid: wherefore their yeere differeth eleuen daies from the yeere of the Latines. They haue at

*The pesants and vnlearned people of Africa cunning in Astrologie.*

*The yeere of Arabians and Africans.*



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diuers times festiual daies, and fasts. About the ende of Autumne, for all winter, and a great part of the spring they are troubled with boisterous windes, with haile, with terrible thunder and lightning: yea then it snoweth much in some places of Barbarie. The easterne, southerne, and southeasterne windes blowing in May and Iune, doe very much hurt there: for they spoile the corne, and hinder the fruit from comming to ripenes. Their corne likewise is greatly appaired by snow, especially such as falleth in the day-time, when it beginneth to flower. Vpon the mountaines of Atlas they diuide the yeere into two partes onely: for their winter continueth from October to Aprill; and from Aprill to October they account it summer: neither is there any day throughout the whole yeere, wherein the tops of those mountaines are not couered with snowe. In Numidia the yeere runneth away very swiftly: for they reape their corne in May, and in October they gather their dates: but from the midst of September they haue winter till the beginning of Ianuarie. But if September falleth out to be rainie, they are like to lose most part of their dates. All the fields of Numidia require watering from the riuers; but if the mountaines of Atlas haue no raine fall vpon them, the Numidian riuers waxe drie, and so the fields are destitute of watering. October being destitute of raine, the husbandman hath no hope to cast his seede into the ground; and he despaireth likewise, if it raine not in Aprill. But their dates prosper more without raine, wherof the Numidians haue greater plentie then of corne. For albeit they haue some store of corne, yet can it scarcely suffice them for halfe the yeere. Howbeit, if they haue good increase of dates, they cannot want abundance of corne, which is sold vnto them by the Arabians for dates. If in the Libyan deserts there fall out change of weather about the midst of October; & if it continue raining there all December, Ianuarie, and some part of

*The yeere diuided into two seasons onely, vpon the mountaines of Atlas.*

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Februarie, it is wonderful what abundance of grasse and milke it bringeth foorth. Then may you finde diuers lakes in all places and many fennes throughout Libya; wherefore this is the meetest time for the Barbarie-merchants to trauell to the land of Negros. Here all kinde of fruits grow sooner ripe, if they haue moderate showers about the ende of Iuly. Moreouer the land of Negros receiueth by raine neither any benefite, nor yet any dammage at all. For the riuer Niger together with the water which falleth from certaine mountaines doth so moisten their grounds, that no places can be deuised to be more fruitfull: for that which Nilus is to Aegypt, the same is Niger to the land of Negros: for it increaseth like Nilus from the fifteenth of Iune the space of fortie daies after, and for so many againe it decreaseth. And so at the increase of Niger, when all places are ouerflowen with water, a man may in a barke passe ouer the land of Negros, albeit not without great perill of drowning; as in the fift part of this treatise we will declare more at large.

*The increase of the riuers of Niger & Nilus.*

*Of the length and shortnes of the Africans liues.*

ALl the people of Barbarie by vs before mentioned liue vnto 65. or 70. yeeres of age, and fewe or none exceed that number. Howbeit in the foresaide mountaines I sawe some which had liued an hundred yeeres, and others which affirmed themselues to be older; whose age was most healthfull and lustie. Yea some you shall finde here of fowerscore yeeres of age, who are sufficiently strong and able to exercise husbandrie, to dresse vines, and to serue in the warres; insomuch that yoong men are oftentimes inferiour vnto them. In Numidia, that is to say, in the land of dates, they liue a long time: howbeit they lose their teeth very soone, and their eies waxe woonderfully dimme. Which infirmities are likely to be incident vnto them, first because they continually feede vpon dates, the



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sweetnes and naturall qualitie whereof doth by little and little pull out their teeth: and secondly the dust and sand, which is tossed vp and downe the aire with easterne windes entring into their eies, doth at last miserably weaken and spoile their eie-sight. The inhabitants of Libya are of a shorter life; but those which are most strong and healthfull among them liue oftentimes till they come to threescore yeeres; albeit they are slender and leane of bodie. The Negros commonly liue the shortest time of al the rest: howbeit they are alwaies strong and lustie, hauing their teeth found euen till their dying day: yet is there no nation vnder heauen more prone to venerie; vnto which vice also the Libyans and Numidians are to too much addicted. To be short, the Barbarians are the weakest people of them all.

*What kindes of diseases the Africans are subiect vnto.*

THE children, and sometimes the ancient women of this region are subiect vnto baldnes or vnnaturall shedding of haire; which disease they can hardly be cured of. They are likewise oftentimes troubled with the head-ache, which vsually afflicteth them without any ague ioined therewith. Many of them are tormented with the tooth-ache, which (as some thinke) they are the more subiect vnto, because immediately after hot pottage they drinke cold water. They are oftentimes vexed with extreme paine of the stomacke, which ignorantly they call, the paine of the hart. They are likewise daily molested with inwarde gripings and infirmities ouer their whole body, which is thought to proceede of continuall drinking of water. Yea they are much subiect vnto bone-aches and goutes, by reason that they sit commonly vpon the bare ground, and neuer weare any shooes vpon their feete. Their chiefe gentlemen and noblemen prooue gowtie oftentimes with immoderate drinking of wine and eating of

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daintie meats. Some with eating of oliues, nuts, and such course fare, are for the most part infected with the scuruies. Those which are of a sanguine complexion are greatly troubled with the cough, because that in the spring-season they sit too much vpon the ground. And vpon fridaies I had no small sport and recreation to goe and see them. For vpon this day the people flocke to church in great numbers to heare their Mahumetan sermons. Now if any one in the sermon-time falles a neezing, all the whole multitude will neeze with him for companie, and so they make such a noise, that they neuer leaue, till the sermon be quite done; so that a man shall reape but little knowledge by any of their sermons. If any of Barbarie be infected with the disease commonly called the French poxe, they die thereof for the most part, and are seldome cured. This disease beginneth with a kinde of anguish and swelling, and at length breaketh out into sores. Ouer the mountaines of Atlas, and throughout all Numidia and Libya they scarcely know this disease. Insomuch that oftentimes the parties infected trauell foorthwith into Numidia or the land of Negros, in which places the aire is so temperate, that onely by remaining there they recouer their perfect health, and returne home sound into their owne countrie: which I saw many doe with mine owne eies; who without the helpe of any phisitian or medicine, except the foresaide holesome aire, were restored to their former health. Not so much as the name of this maladie was euer knowen vnto the Africans, before *Ferdinand* the king of Castile expelled all Iewes out of Spaine; after the returne of which Iewes into Africa, certaine vnhappie and lewd people lay with their wiues; and so at length the disease spread from one to another, ouer the whole region insomuch that scarce any one familie was free from the same. Howbeit, this they were most certainly perswaded of, that the same disease came first from Spaine; where-

*The French disease.*

*When and by what meanes the French poxe was brought into Africa.*

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fore they (for want of a better name) do call it, The Spanish poxe. Notwithstanding at Tunis and ouer all Italie it is called the French disease. It is so called likewise in Aegypt and Syria: for there it is vsed as a common prouerbe of cursing; the French poxe take you.

*Hernia or the disease called bursting or the rupture.*

Amongst the Barbarians the disease called in Latine *Hernia* is not so common; but in Aegypt the people are much troubled therewith. For some of the Aegyptians haue their cods oftentimes so swollen, as it is incredible to report. Which infirmitie is thought to be so common among them, because they eate so much gumme, and salt cheese. Some of their children are subiect vnto the falling sicknes; but when they growe to any stature, they are free from that disease. This falling sicknes likewise possesseth the women of Barbarie, and of the land of Negros; who, to excuse it, say that they are taken with a spirite. In Barbarie the plague is rife euery tenth, fifteenth, or twentieth yeere, whereby great numbers of people are consumed; for they haue no cure for the same, but onely to rub the plague-sore with certaine ointments made

*Earth of Armenia.*

of Armenian earth. In Numidia they are infected with the plague scarce once in an hundred yeeres. And in the land of Negros they know not the name of the disease: because they neuer were subiect thereunto.[98]

### *The commendable actions and vertues of the Africans.*

THose Arabians which inhabite in Barbarie or vpon the coast of the Mediterran sea, are greatly addicted vnto the studie of good artes and sciences: and those things which concerne their law and religion are esteemed by them in the first place. Moreouer they haue beene heretofore most studious of the Mathematiques, of Philosophie, and of Astrologie: but these artes (as it is aforesaid) were fower hundred yeeres agoe, vtterly destroyed and taken away by the chiefe professours of their lawe. The

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inhabitants of cities doe most religiously obserue and reuerence those things which appertaine vnto their religion: yea they honour those doctours and priests, of whom they learne their law, as if they were petie-gods. Their Churches they frequent verie diligently, to the ende they may repeat certaine prescript and formal prayers; most superstitiously perswading themselues that the same day wherein they make their praiers, it is not lawfull for them to wash certaine of their members, when as at other times they wil wash their whole bodies. Whereof we will (by Gods helpe) discourse more at large in the second Booke of this present treatise, when we shall fall into the mentioning of *Mahumet* and of his religion. Moreouer those which inhabite Barbarie are of great cunning & dexteritie for building & for mathematicall inuentions, which a man may easily coniecture by their artificiall workes. Most honest people they are, and destitute of all fraud and guile; not onely imbracing all simplicitie and truth, but also practising the same throughout the whole course of their liues: albeit certaine Latine authors, which haue written of the same regions, are farre otherwise of opinion. Likewise they are most strong and valiant people, especially those which dwell vpon the mountaines. They keepe their couenant most faithfully; insomuch that they had rather die than breake promise. No nation in the world is so subiect vnto iealousie; for they will rather leese their lives, then put vp any disgrace in the behalfe of their women. So desirous they are of riches and honour, that therein no other people can goe beyonde them. They trauell in a manner ouer the whole world to exercise traffique. For they are continually to bee seene in AEgypt, in AEthiopia, in Arabia, Persia, India, and Turkie: and whithersoeuer they goe, they are most honorably esteemed of: for none of them will possesse any arte, vnlesse hee hath attained vnto great exactness and perfection

*The Moores are a people of great fidelitie.*

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therein. They haue alwaies beene much delighted with all kinde of ciuilitie and modest behauiour: and it is accounted heinous among them for any man to vtter in companie, any bawdie or vnseemely worde. They haue alwaies in minde this sentence of a graue author; Giue place to thy superiour. If any youth in presence of his father, his vncle, or any other of his kinred, doth sing or talke ought of loue matters, he is deemed to bee woorthie of grieuous punishment. Whatsoeuer lad or youth there lighteth by chaunce into any company which discourseth of loue, no sooner heareth nor vnderstandeth what their talke tendeth vnto, but immediately he withdraweth himselfe from among them. These are the things which we thought most woorthie of relation as concerning the ciuilitie, humanitie, and vpright dealing of the Barbarians: let vs now proceede vnto the residue. Those Arabians which dwell in tents, that is to say, which bring vp cattell, are of a more liberall and ciuill disposition: to wit, they are in their kinde as deuout, valiant, patient, courteous, hospitall, and as honest in life and conuersation as any other people. They be most faithfull obseruers of their word and promise; insomuch that the people, which before we said to dwell in the mountaines, are greatly stirred vp with emulation of their vertues. Howbeit the said mountainers, both for learning, for vertue, and for religion, are thought much inferiour to the Numidians, albeit they haue little or no knowledge at all in naturall philosophie. They are reported likewise to be most skilfull warriours, to be valiant, and exceeding louers and practisers of all humanitie. Also, the Moores and Arabians inhabiting Libya are somewhat ciuill of behauiour, being plaine dealers, voide of dissimulation, fauourable to strangers, and louers of simplicitie. Those which we before named white, or tawney Moores, are stedfast in friendship: as likewise they indifferently and fauourably esteeme of

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other nations: and wholy indeuour themselues in this one thing, namely, that they may leade a most pleasant and iocund life. Moreouer they maintaine most learned professours of liberall artes, and such men are most deuout in their religion. Neither is there any people in all Africa that lead a more happie and honorable life.

*What vices the foresaid Africans are subiect vnto.*

NEuer was there any people or nation so perfectly endued with vertue, but that they had their contrarie faults and blemishes: now therefore let vs consider, whether the vices of the Africãs do surpasse their vertues & good parts. Those which we named the inhabitants of the cities of Barbarie are somewhat needie and couetous, being also very proud and high-minded, and woonderfully addicted vnto wrath; insomuch that (according to the prouerbe) they will deeply engraue in marble any iniurie be it neuer so small, & will in no wise blot it out of their remembrance. So rusticall they are & void of good manners, that scarcely can any stranger obtaine their familiaritie and friendship. Their wits are but meane, and they are so credulous, that they will beleeue matters impossible, which are told them. So ignorant are they of naturall philosophie, that they imagine all the effects and operations of nature to be extraordinarie and diuine. They obserue no certaine order of liuing nor of lawes. Abounding exceedingly with choler, they speake alwaies with an angrie and lowd voice. Neither shall you walke in the day-time in any of their streetes, but you shall see commonly two or three of them together by the eares. By nature they are a vile and base people, being no better accounted of by their gouernours

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then if they were dogs. They haue neither iudges nor lawyers, by whose wisdome and counsell they ought to be directed. They are vtterly vnskilfull in trades of merchandize, being destitute of bankers and money-changers: wherefore a merchant can doe nothing among them in his absence, but is himselfe constrained to goe in person, whithersoeuer his wares are carried. No people vnder heauen are more addicted vnto couetise then this nation: neither is there (I thinke) to bee found among them one of an hundred, who for courtesie, humanitie, or deuotions sake will vouchsafe any entertainment vpon a stranger. Mindfull they haue alwaies beene of iniuries, but most forgetfull of benefites. Their mindes are perpetually possessed with vexation and strife, so that they will seldome or neuer shew themselues tractable to any man; the cause whereof is supposed to be; for that they are so greedily addicted vnto their filthie lucre, that they neuer could attaine vnto any kinde of ciuilitie or good behauiour. The shepherds of that region liue a miserable, toilsome, wretched and beggerly life: they are a rude people, and (as a man may say) borne and bred to theft, deceit, and brutish manners. Their yoong men may goe a wooing to diuers maides, till such time as they haue sped of a wife. Yea, the father of the maide most friendly welcommeth her suiter: so that I thinke scarce any noble or gentleman among them can chuse a virgine for his spouse: albeit, so soone as any woman is married, she is quite forsaken of all her suiters; who then seeke out other new paramours for their liking. Concerning their religion, the greater part of these people are neither Mahumetans, Iewes, nor Christians; and hardly shall you finde so much as a sparke of pietie in any of them. They haue no churches at all, nor any kinde of prayers, but being vtterly estranged from all godly deuotion, they leade a sauage and beastly life: and if any man chanceth to be of a better disposition (because they

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haue no law-giuers nor teachers among them) he is constrained to follow the example of other mens liues & maners. All the Numidians being most ignorant of naturall, domesticall, & commonwealth-matters, are principally addicted vnto treason, trecherie, murther, theft, and robberie. This nation, because it is most slauish, will right gladly accept of any seruice among the Barbarians, be it neuer so vile or contemptible. For some will take vpon them to be dung-farmers, others to be scullians, some others to bee ostlers,[94] and such like seruile occupations. Likewise the inhabitants of Libya liue a brutish kinde of life; who neglecting all kindes of good artes and sciences, doe wholy apply their mindes vnto theft and violence. Neuer as yet had they any religion, any lawes, or any good forme of liuing; but alwaies had, and euer will haue a most miserable and distressed life. There cannot any trechery or villanie be inuented so damnable, which for lucres sake they dare not attempt. They spend all their daies either in most lewd practises, or in hunting, or else in warfare: neither weare they any shooes nor garments. The Negros likewise leade a beastly kinde of life, being vtterly destitute of the vse of reason, of dexteritie of wit, and of all artes. Yea they so behaue themselues, as if they had continually liued in a forrest among wilde beasts. They haue great swarmes of harlots among them; whereupon a man may easily coniecture their manner of liuing: except their conuersation perhaps be somewhat more tolerable, who dwell in the principall townes and cities: for it is like that they are somewhat more addicted to ciuilitie.

*The author of this worke his Apologie for the former relation.*

Neither am I ignorant, how much mine owne credit is impeached, when I my selfe write so homely of Africa, vnto which countrie I stand indebted both for my birth,[95] and also for the best part of my education: Howbeit in this regarde I seeke not to excuse my selfe, but onely to

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appeale vnto the dutie of an historiographer, who is to set downe the plaine truth in all places, and is blame-woorthie for flattering or fauouring of any person. And this is the cause that hath mooued me to describe all things so plainly without glossing or dissimulation: wherefore here I am to request the gentle Reader friendly to accept of this my most true discourse, (albeit not adorned with fine words, and artificiall eloquence) as of certaine vnknowne strange matters. Wherein how indifferent and sincere I haue shewed my selfe, it may in few words appeere by that which followeth. It is reported of a lewd countriman of ours, that being conuicted of some heinous crime, he was adiudged to be seuerely beaten for it. Howbeit the day following, when the executioner came to doe his busines, the malefactor remembred that certaine yeeres before, he had some acquaintance and familiaritie with him: which made him to presume, that he should find more fauour at his hands, then a meere stranger. But he was fowly deceiued; for the executioner vsed him no better, then if he had neuer knowne him. Wherefore this caitife at the first exclaiming vpon his executioner, oh (saith he) my good friend, what maketh you so sterne, as not to acknowledge our olde acquaintance? Hereupon the executioner beating him more cruelly then before: friend (quoth he) in such busines as this I vse to be mindfull of my dutie, and to shew no fauour at all: and so continually laying on, he ceased not, till the iudiciall sentence was fulfilled. It was (doubtlesse) a great argument of impartiall dealing, when as respect of former friendship could take no place.

Wherefore I thought good to record all the particulars aforesaid; least that describing vices onely I should seeme to flatter them, with whom I am now presently conuersant; or extolling onely the vertues of the Africans, I might hereafter be saide to sue for their fauour (which I haue of purpose eschewed) to the end that I might haue more free

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accesse vnto them. Moreouer, may it please you for this purpose to heare another resemblance or similitude. There was vpon a time a most wily bird, so indued by nature, that she could liue as well with the fishes of the sea, as with the fowles of the aire; wherefore she was rightly called Amphibia. This bird being summoned before the king of birds to pay her yeerely tribute, determined foorthwith to change her element, and to delude the king; and so flying out of the aire, she drencht herselfe in the Ocean sea. Which strange accident the fishes woondring at, came flocking about Amphibia, saluting her, and asking her the cause of her comming. Good fishes (quoth the bird) know you not, that all things are turned so vpside downe, that we wot not how to liue securely in the aire? Our tyrannicall king (what furie haunts him, I know not) commanded me to be cruelly put to death, whereas no silly bird respected euer his commoditie as I haue done. Which most vniust edict I no sooner heard of, but presently (gentle fishes) I came to you for refuge. Wherefore vouchsafe me (I beseech you) some odde corner or other to hide my head in; and then I may iustly say, that I haue found more friendship among strangers, then euer I did in mine owne natiue countrie. With this speech the fishes were so perswaded, that Amphibia staied a whole yeere among them, not paying one penie or halfe-penie. At the yeeres ende the king of fishes began to demand his tribute, insomuch that at last the bird was sessed to pay. Great reason it is (saith the bird) that each man should haue his due, and for my part I am contented to doe the dutie of a loyall subiect. These words were no sooner spoken, but she suddenly spred her wings, and vp she mounted into the aire. And so this bird, to auoide yeerely exactions and tributes, woulde eftsoones change her element.[96] Out of this fable I will inferre no other morall, but that all men doe most affect that place, where

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they finde least damage and inconuenience. For mine owne part, when I heare the Africans euill spoken of, I wil affirme my selfe to be one of Granada: and when I perceiue the nation of Granada to be discommended, then will I professe my selfe to be an African. But herein the Africans shall be the more beholding vnto me; for that I will only record their principall and notorious vices, omitting their smaller and more tolerable faults.

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# NOTES TO BOOK I.

(1) In this etymology of Africa, Leo follows the Arab and Berber historians. Ifrikis was a son of a king of Yemen, and the conqueror of Maghreb, "the West", to which he gave the name of "Ifrikia"—Ibn Khaldun, *History of the Berbers*, ed. Slane, vol. i, pp. 168, 176, etc.; Abu -l -fida, *Hist. Ante-Islamitica*, ed. Fleischer, p. 116; El Kaïrouani, *Histoire de l'Afrique* (Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie, vol. vii), p. 21; Carette, *Recherches sur l'origine et les migration des principales tribus de l'Afrique Sept. et particuliérement de l'Algérie* (Expl. Sc. de l'Algérie, vol. iii), p. 306; Mover's *Die Phönizier*, vol. ii, 2nd part, p. 417; *teste* Tissot, *Geog. Comparée de la Province Romaine d'Afrique*, vol. i, p. 389. Some of the legends affirm that this Ifrikis, Ifraki, Ifriki, or Ifricus (Ifrico in Leo's Italian), fled from Egypt into Barca, when finding no sustenance for his followers, he sent scouts out to Cyrenaica, in which land fit for tillage and pasture was reported, and that the spies cried out, "Ber! ber!" "land! land!" which explains the origin of Berber and Barbary. But this legend looks too much of later origin, and, according to Mr. Dupuis, who lived long at Mogador, is unknown to the people of Morocco. The modern Arabs have no particular name for Africa, with which few of them have any acquaintance beyond the region they travel over, or reside in. Al Gharb, or Maghriba, that is, the west, is Barbary, the direction being its bearing from Arabia and Syria, the focus of the Empire of the early Khalifs. Maghrib or Maghrarib Mokribi, the first division west, is Cyrenaica, the Lybian desert, and as far as Fezzan. Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria, as far as Tenez, Tlemsen, and Teggort, is Maghrib al-Wasat, the Central West, and Morocco is Maghrib al-Aksa. Sahara is applied not so much to any particular desert, as to any sterile spot in Africa or Arabia. Sudan, from Aswad, black, is a vague term designating the entire country about the Niger, and so forth. The Arabs affirm that Africa is a corruption of Al Mafrika, the ancient name of the country beyond the Nile westward, this word meaning disunited or divided, implying that it was cut off from Asia by the Nile. This is one of the legends preserved by Leo, and in Dupuis' day, early in this century, was current among the Arabs of Morocco, though I have been unable to find any one now acquainted with it. A second tradition, not however so popular, is that the Red Sea was the dividing line, the water having

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concentrated there after the deluge. Hence the opposite shore was called Mafrika. The Berbers know nothing of these legends, though they have a widespread legend that when the sea broke through the Strait of Gibraltar many kingdoms and cities were overwhelmed by the waters now occupying the Mediterranean. This belief the victorious invaders of Spain adopted in naming the points on the opposite shore of the Strait of Gibraltar, El Boghaz ("the barrier"), Terf el Gharb (Cape Trafalgar) and Algesiras (Al Jeseira), implying that these were parts of the Gharb, or an island of it, before the Atlantic (Bh'ar el Mh' eit) burst into what is now the Mediterranean (Bh'ar er Rum, the Roman Sea).—Dupuis, *Journal of a Residence in Ashantee*, pp. lxxvii-lxxxiii ; Davis, *Carthage*, p. 41.

Other etymologists incline to regard the word Africa as of classical origin. Africa is mentioned for the first time in two fragments of Ennius (who wrote in the interval between the two first Punic wars), though in a way indicating that the name was familiar to his readers. "Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu, Undique..." (*Annales* VI); "Lati campi quos gerit Africa terra politos" (*Satires* III). Isidrus Halpensis, Bishop of Seville (*Etymologiarum libri*, xiv, v. 2), who flourished about A.D. 630, fancifully traces Africa to *aprica*, in allusion to its hot, dry, climate. Bochart (*Chaanan*, I, xxv), hardly less absurdly finds its origin in *efer*, dust; while Solinus (xxiv, 2), as is usual with the classical writers, inclined to fall back upon some mythological hero as the name-father of Africa. In this case it is Afrus, son of the Libyan Hercules. Suidas (*sub voce* Ἄφροι), looks to Afer, the son of Saturn and Philyra, as the progenitor of the Africans, while Josephus (*Antiq.*, i, xv) preserves a Græco-Jewish story, in which this Afer is transformed into a son of Abraham and Cethura, named Aphera, who succoured Hercules in the fight against Antæus. According to Suidas, the ancient name of Carthage was Ἀφρική. Hence, D'Avezac seizes upon the word as the origin of Africa. Afriquah was the Semitic radical, signifying distinct, different. Thus Africa was a distinct and separate colony from that of Tyre, which sent forth the Phœnician founders of Carthage, and thus the Arabs came to designate all the country in which the ancient Afriquah was established by that general name (*Description et histoire de l'Afrique ancienne*, etc., p. 5). But even admitting that Carthage bore this name when the Arabs made its acquaintance, its position and importance did not warrant the ancient founders in regarding it as isolated from Tyre; and, moreover, Mahedia bore in the Middle Ages the name of Africa, so that a similar line of argument could scarcely apply to it. Carette (*l.c.*, p. 306) is more plausible when he tries to connect the name of Africa with the tribes of Aurigha, Afarik, or Ifurces of Corippus, who, driven into the Sahara, formed again as the Auraghen one of the most important fractions of the

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Azger Berbers. The name of Aurighia is indeed given to one of the principal dialects of the Tamashek language, and from the Aouragh Ibn Khaldun, traces the great Berber divisions of Sanhadja and Lamta. This powerful race anciently inhabited the sea coast, and may have given their name to the country around Carthage, just as the Greeks of Cyrenaica applied the term Libou, the first section of Berbers with whom they came in contact with, to the whole of Africa with which they were acquainted (Libya), an example which the Romans partly followed. Barth (*Travels in North Africa*, vol. i, pp. 339, 344). Nachtigal (*Sudan*, vol. ii, p. 223, etc.), tells us that the Kelowi of Aïr, not mentioned by Leo or any other writer before Horneman (*Journal*, etc., pp. 109 *et seq.*), belong, at least so far as the noble part of them are concerned, to the Auragha, and hence their dialect is called Auragheye even at the present day. In the time of Abu-Obeid El Bekri (*Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, ed. Slane, pp. 13, 44), the Auraghas inhabited the shores of the Gulf of Syrtis, and the districts of Kabes and Barca. It was here that Corippus, in the sixth century, placed the Ifurces (Vivien de St. Martin, *L'Afrique dans l'Antiquité*, pp. 150, 151 ; Mignard, *Hist. générale de La Tunisie*, p. 223). In reality, however, these etymologies seem rather far fetched—Auragha, Afarik, or Ifrikia, Afer, Ifurac, or Africa. Africa is really a Latinised form of the original Afer, which in its turn may be derived from the once powerful Ifre (Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager*, vol. i, p. 433), and it is quite certain that Africa was used by the Romans in the restricted sense of being applied to the territory of Carthage, the part of Tunisia comprised in that area being still called Frikia or Ifrikia. Edrisi gives an Itinerary from Misr (Cairo) to Ifrikia as followed by the Almoravides in A.D. 530. It ends at Sidjilmessa (near Tafilet).—Edrisi, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and De Goeje, pp. 194-5.

(2) Gaoga, as we have seen (p. 100), and shall see more fully by-and-by, is identical with what the Bornu people call Bulala. If this is the case, the Desert of Gaoga is some of the barren country not far from the western shore of Lake Chad, which is the only large sheet of water in that direction, and might readily be supposed to be the source of various rivers. Lake Fitri, which is in the middle of the Bulala country, is too small to be taken into account.—Nachtigal, *Sudan*, vol. ii, p. 333 ; Barth, *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 427.

(3) Eloacat, a "citta" in a district to which Leo gives the name of Alguechet (Bk. VI), which seems to have consisted of more than one oasis, is evidently the Al Wahat, or Desert of the Oases, a vast desolate tract in the Libyan Desert, behind the western ridge of



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mountains which bounds the Nile valley. Ibn el-Wardi (*Unio Miraculorum*, De Sacy in *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi*, pt. ii, 1789), and Leo include this district as a separate division of Africa, between Barca and Egypt. The oases are several in number, those which contribute to the Egyptian revenue being:—the Greater Oasis, or El Wah el-Khargeh, or Menamun, Leo's Eloacat (El Wakat), and the Lesser Oasis the *oasis parva* of the Romans, or El Wah el-Ghàrbie, or El-Behnesa or El-Mendisheh, Leo's Gerbe and the Al Alvâhët or Al Wâhât of Edrisi. (Hartmann, *Edrisii Africa*, pp. 489, 491), the Wah el-Hayz, the Wah of Farafrah, the Oasis of the Blacks (Wady Zerzure), discovered by an Arab at the beginning of this century, the Wah el-Siwah, the Oasis of Ammon, Gebabo, Tazerbo, Rebiana and the Wah el-Dakhel, sometimes also called the Wah el-Gharbie, though this term is usually applied to the Lesser Oasis. The author of Murray's *Egypt* (p. 371), notes that the name of "Dakhel", or "receding", is given in opposition to "Khargeh", or "projecting", the latter projecting towards Egypt. But the oases are still imperfectly known, and may be the palm-bearing spots which, according to Edrisi, extend to Kuka and Kawar.—Rennell, *Geog. of Herodotus*, p. 564; Murray, *Hist. Account of Discovery and Travels in Africa*, vol. ii, p. 191; Lucas, *Troisième Voyage fait en* 1714, t. ii, p. 206; Browne, *Travels in Egypt and Syria*, p. 132, 186; Brugsch, *Reise nach den grossen Oase el-Khargeh in der libyschen Wüste* (1876); Rohlfs, *Drei Monate in libyschen Wüste* (1875), etc.

(4) This is the place more frequently mentioned than visited, under the name of Nun (Noon) Gudnun, Inun (Inoon), or more frequently Wadinun, Wadnun (Wadnoon); but the latter name is properly only applied to the Assaka River, on which it is situated, some twenty or thirty miles from the Atlantic. Wadnun is, therefore (as translated), merely the "the river of Nun", and the term is applied to the neighbouring territory, which also bears the name Jezula (Guzzula) (Leo, Bk. II). It is doubtful whether Nun is the Nul in the Lanta country mentioned byEdrisi; the chief basis for this conjecture being the similarity of names and the fact that neither Leo nor Marmol make any mention of Nul (Dozy and Goeje's ed. of Edrisi's *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, pp. 65, 66). Not far from Agadir there are vestiges of Tul, ruined by the Shereefs in 1517, but which in the days of Diego de Torres (*Istoria de los Xarifes*, p. 63) was well peopled and very rich. The modern Nun is in Sidi Hisham's country, a part of Sus, where the Sultan's authority is not recognised, and most of the people are Berbers. The town is large and rather picturesque, and well built, and is the meeting-place for caravans between Mogador in Morocco and Timbuktu. The place, according to Arab legend, derives its name from Nunnah, a queen of

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their race who reigned in Portugal. That is, of course, a modern fiction; but the authority for the note to Davidson's *African Journal*, 1835-6, p. 84, that Nun is "properly Nul, and was so named when the Arabs possessed Portugal" is not mentioned. Cape Nun, owing to a confusion regarding the two rivers, is not near what used to be called the Wad Nun, but on the north side of the Wad Draa mouth.

(5) Shawy (see also Bk. VII), a place near the mouth of the Shari River, a feeder of Lake Chad. "It is obvious . . . . that the name *Seu* is the root of the appellative Showy and the name Shouaa, respectively given by Denham to a town on the Shary, and the Arab tribes inhabiting the adjacent country."—Cooley, *Negroland*, etc., p. 130 *n.*

(6) Most of these places will be noticed at a later stage. Monachism was introduced in the Empire of Prete Gianni (Prester John) about the year 470, since which time it has been a power in Abyssinia. But though Leo and most of the writers after the fourteenth century came to the conclusion that the seat of the semi-fabulous Christian monarch, who had so long been sought for, was in Abyssinia, it is doubtful whether the earlier legends of his existence originated out of the semi-Christianisation of the Negus and his subjects. Central Asia, India, East Africa, and other regions, were all at different times rumoured to be the home of "Presbyter Johannes". At least as early as 1497 the Abyssinians possessed a chapel and an altar in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, though Marco Polo, writing not far from the close of the thirteenth century, mentions that a mission was sent from the King of Abyssinia to make offerings on his part at this particular shrine. The Abyssinians also possessed the church of St. Stephen in the Vatican. At the end of the fifteenth century—indeed about the time Leo wrote—João II of Portugal made enquiries of "Abyssinian monks who visited those Spanish regions, and through certain friars who went from this country to Jerusalem". It may have been some of these scar-faced friars whom Leo saw.—Oppert, *Der Prysbeter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte* (1870); Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes* (1876-79); D'Avezac, *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, vol. iv, pp. 547-564; Alvarez, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia* (Hakluyt Society, 1881), etc.

The "certaine Mahumetan" among them ("un signore Maumettano') might have been some Galla chief. For the Gallas, many of whom overran Abyssinia from a very early to a very late period, were Mohammedans, while every now and then some other powerful Moslem obtained a hold on the country: hence Leo's allusion may be of very general



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application. The "Moors" of Adel and Zeila continually warred against Abyssinia, and in 1513 the Negus sent to request the help of Portugal against them, the result of which was the fleet and embassy of which Alvarez was a member. In 1528, two years after Leo's narrative was published, a great army of Moslems under Muhammed Gragn entered Abyssinia from the low country, and compelled the Emperor to take refuge in the mountains. In short, the "signore Maumettano" was a standing trouble to Abyssinia from a very early period, and has remained so to this hour, though possibly the "signore Italiano" may before long take his place.

In the geographical jumble regarding the Niger as identical with the Nile, etc., Leo is only following the cosmography he had picked up in Italy; thus, as usual, proving a poor comparative geographer, but an admirable descriptive one. Thus he follows Pliny in making the "Nigris" identical with the Nile, and forming the boundary between "Africa" and Ethiopia on the frontier of Gætullia, and in Book IX he expressly admits that he considers a river called the Ghir the same as Ptolemy's Niger (Niger, Νίγειρ), which might or might not be the river now called by that name. But Cooley (*Claudius Ptolemy and the Nile*, p. 6) is entirely mistaken in affirming that Leo by the Nile meant the Senegal. He possibly confused some of the rivers in that section of Africa; but from the names of the kingdoms on its banks it is certain that it was the Niger he was describing so far as his own knowledge went, and so far as the information of the Arab traders enabled him to write at second hand. What may have puzzled him, as it puzzled many of his predecessors and successors, was finding the Niger first flowing east and then south. But it must be noted that long before Reichard, in 1802, suggested that the Niger found its way westward into the Atlantic by many mouths, Leo had positively asserted this to be the case. His other notion about the Nigro-Nilotic hydrography was of course wrong. Yet it was not more erroneous than many theories held up to the close of the controversy by the arrival of the Landers at the Nun mouth in 1830. Even so astute a geographer as Rennell was inclined to regard Wangara as its delta, and that its waters spread out by inundation into shallow lakes in the interior, which might, under the burning rays of a tropical sun, be completely evaporated. In other words, they disappeared in a "sink", like so many of the smaller streams in the Western American desert. Murray, a compiler of excellent judgment, writing in 1817, almost scoffs at Reichard's idea of the Niger finding its way into the Gulf of Benin, as "supported by no evidence"; and Jackson, who resided in Morocco, stoutly contended (1800) that the Nile of the Blacks (the Niger) was the same with the River of Egypt. There is evidence that in speaking of "our cosmographer" he is referring to Ibn Batuta.—Lee's edition, p. 236.

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(7) Don Pedro Navarro (Conte Pietro Navarro), took Bugia in 1508.

(8) These names are for the most part those of well known places or of villages or towns no longer in existence. For instance, among the "townes" of the Western Barbary Sahara, Teguat (misprinted Tegvad in Temporal's translation, and Tegua in Pory's version) is Touat, and Tsabit is doubtless the Tsabet mentioned by El' Aïache in his journey from Morocco to Tripoli, in 1662-63 (Berbrugger, in *Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, vol. ix, p. 21). Sagelmess is identical with Tafilet. Zeb, Zibin, or Zaab, is the Zebe or Zabe of the old writers. "Zabe, supra montem Aurasium ad Mauritaniam pertinentem, Sitiphem metropolem habens" (*Procopius de Bello Vandalico*, lib. xi, c. 20). It is the Al Zeb of Abulfeda. Biledulgerid (Bled el-Terrid) is the Arabic name for the "Dry Country", or the region south of the Atlas, or bordering on the Desert.

Tesset may be Tossout, where there are ruins of Texouda, called Tezzota by Leo. Dare (Dara in the Italian) is Dra, though, were it not shown by the context to be different, it might be Dahra. Tebellelt is an oasis south of Tafilet. Todga or Toudga are the Berbers near Bugia, to whose mountain villages the tribal name is applied, though Tolga, not noticed by Leo, is one of the most ancient towns of Zab, and, therefore, Todga may be a misprint for it. Fighig is the oasis of Figuig. Tegort may be another way of spelling Teggurt (elsewhere Techort), or it may be El-Gattar, the ancient Tagora. Guarghela is Warghla, and Mesab, Mzab. Pescara is Biskra, noticed by Ibn Khaldun and El Bekri as the capital of Zab. Elborgh (Elborgiu in the Italian) is the modern El Bordj. Hacca, Akka, Tegoranen, or Gonarara, is north of the Touat oasis. Deusen (Dousar) is still a village of Zab. Nesta, a misprint for Nefta. Teozar is Tozeur (spelled on p. 41 Teuzar). Caphesa, Gafsa, or Cafsa, is the ancient Capsa. Mesellata (in the Mesellata mountains in Tripoli), Garian, Ghurion, in the same region, and others, are unnecessary to annotate at this place as they are mentioned more than once on subsequent pages. Pory, however, makes a serious blunder in writing the "isles of Gerbe (Gerbo in Temporal), Garion", etc. In the original it is, of course, "isola di Gerbe" (the island off which Leo was captured), the other places not being islands at all, but towns like Ghadames, and countries like Fezzan, far in the interior, or wide regions like that of Birdeoa (Birdeva) the home of the Bardoa, Berdoa, Birdera, or Berdera, branches of the Tibbu in Borhtu, Burgu, or Birgu, and Eloachet (the country of Eloacirt, though in the original the name is not given as in Pory), etc. —Nachtigal, *Sudan*, vol. ii, pp. 187-191. Hornemann, *Journal*, p. 178.

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Numidia, "the land of the Nomads", is for the most part in Algeria.

(9) The Zenega seem to have extended from the Atlantic to the Salt marshes of Traza, from Western Sus and the Wad Draa on the north to Timbuktu in the south. The Guanziga (the Zuenziga or Guaneceres of Marmol) roamed from Traza to the desert of Air (Hair) and as far north as the Taflet oases, Tebelbelt, and Beni-Gumi, and southward to the kingdom of Guber. The Terga or Tuaregs were then, as now, the terror of all the desert area from Air (or Asben, not Ahir) to Iguidi; on the north as far as Tuat and the Wad Mzab, and southward to Agadez. In the desert of Iguidi on to Berdoa the tribe of Lemta held sway, being bounded northward by the oases of Wargla, Teggort, and Rhamades, and southward by the kingdom of Kanro. The Berdoa, or Birdeoa in the original Italian (p. 14), were in Leo's day the predominant race between the deserts of Iguidi and Audjila, not extending further north than Fezzan or Barca, or further south than Bornu, while in the Audjila Desert the Lenta, or Levata, were masters, their range being probably as far as the Nile. These races, as we may find occasion to notice, have, by the encroachment of other stocks, the occupation of the country by the whites, or by their own advances, considerably altered their range since the date mentioned.—Carette, *Expl. de l'Algérie*, vol. iii, pp. 52-53.

Azaohad (Azaoad) is the district of Azawad, an extensive region to the north of Timbuktu. The name Asawad is an Arab corruption of the Berber word Azawagh (pronounced Azawar), which is common to many desert tracts. Azawad proper is a most sterile country, and has been so characterised by all Arab travellers from Ibn Batuta to Leo Africanus, though to the wanderer in these wastes, not familiar with more fertile regions, it is a kind of desert paradise, having in favoured spots plenty of food for camels and a few cattle. It is dotted with four small towns, the most noted of which is Arauan, a great outfitting place for Timbuktu caravans, the Berabish chief of which, Hamed Weled 'Abeda Weled Rehel, murdered Major Laing. The original inhabitants of Azawad seem, from the prevailing dialect, to have been Songhay people (Barth, *Travels*, vol. v, pp. 459-465; Lenz, *Timbuktu*, vol. ii, p. 363, where this region is called El-Azauad). Caillié mistook the name Azawad, which he writes Zawat, for that of a tribe (*Travels to Timbuctoo*, vol. ii, p. 97, etc.); Leo's etymology of Air, "ma nomato dalla bonta dell' aere", is apocryphal beyond arguing.

(10) For notes on these Niger kingdoms, see Introduction.

Bito is the Berde of Denham and Clapperton (*Narrative of Travels*

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*and Discoveries*, vol. ii, p. 218); the Bedde of Barth (vol. iv, p. 32, and iv, 613), adjoining or comprised in Bornu. Temian may be an error for Yemyen. Dauma is probably the Doma of some maps, and the country on the right bank of the Benue. Medra may be Mandara, one letter being obliterated in Leo's Arabic notes. Goran (in *Marmol* Gorhan, a form also adopted by Pory), which Leo frequently refers to, can be no other spot than Kordofan. This name might easily by negligent writing become Korhan, or, as Leo, uniformly writing *Kej* with a *g* and omitting the aspirates, would represent it, Goran.—Cooley, *Negroland of the Arabs*, pp. 129-30.

Marmol in copying this passage (vol. i, fol. 15) omits Dauma, and substitutes for it Mandinga. Leo's remark about the safety of travelling on the Niger is almost identical with what Ibn Batuta says. "A traveller may proceed alone amongst them without the least fear of brigands, or robbers, or ravagers" (Leo's edition, p. 240; Defrémery and Sanguinetti's edition, vol. iv, p. 421). Leo, also, in describing the negroes as leading a "brutish kind of life", agrees with the old Tangier vagabond, who describes the free women as never clothing themselves until after marriage, and the greater part of the people as eating the stinking dead bodies of dogs and asses.

(11) The etymology of "Berberi" and Barbary is still very dubious, and likely to remain so. The Berbers are the race which forms the ethnic substratum of the greater part of North Africa. Even yet they are a powerful stock, though their domain has been much encroached upon by the Arabs. Their various sections are the Shluh (Southern Morocco, the *Zaylah* of Macrizi), Tuareg (Sahara), and Berber people of Tunis, Algeria, and North Morocco, divided into numerous tribes. But Berber is not the name they apply to themselves. Their general natural name is Amazirgh, Amazigh, or Amashek, *i.e.*, "freemen"—a description specially claimed by the Riff people of Morocco—and their language Tha Tamashik, or Tanazigt, a word which, stripped of the prefix and the post-fix *t* (Keane), is identical with the Μάξυες of Hecatæus, the Μάξυερ of Herodotus, the Μάζικες of Ptolemy, and the *Maxitani* of Justin; though quite as likely these people might be the fraction of the race now known as Maschouacha or Machouach (Chabas, *Etudes sur l'Antiquité historique etc.* pp. 189, 227). The word Berber is, perhaps, simply a corruption of the Roman Barbari, Barbarian, and their country Barbaricum, the land of the Barbarians, or Barbary, as it afterwards came to be called. This is, moreover, rendered more probable by the fact that at the date of the Arab invasion the name was applied to the people of Southern Morocco. In A.H. 62, Okba-ben-Nafih, proposing to pass from Tangier to Algesiras, was warned by the Governor of Tangier not to leave in his rear the "Berber nation—inhabitants of Sus, a people

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without religion, who ate the carcases of animals, drank wine, knew not God, and lived like the brutes". Accordingly, he marched against their country (Cha' ab-ed-Dîn, "The Book of Pearls" in *Notices des Manuscrits de la Bibl. impériale*, t. ii, p. 157). There was also a region in Mauritania Tingitana which was assigned to the Barbari. After this period the name of Berber replaced the Latin Libyi, and the Arab geographers applied the new title of Beled-al-Berber, the Berber country in Barbary, to all the region of North Africa between Barda and the Atlantic, that is, to the ancient Libya, though Maghreb or Belad el-gharb is also used to indicate the direction of this country from Arabia. Abd el-Bar, writing in the fifth century of the Hegira, derives the name from Ber, son of Kîs-Rîlân, one of the first Kings of Egypt who invaded the Maghreb, "Ber-berra," his country-folk said, "Ber has retired into the desert", and since that period the name Berber has come into use. Finally, Tabari relates an even more puerile tale of Afrikis having established a colony of Amalekites in the country to which he gave his name. They murmured at having been sent so far from home. "The Canaanites grumble" (*berberna*), was the King's remark: hence the name of the new African colonists! (Cha' ab-ed-Dîn, *l. c.*, p. 151.) At all events, the word Berber, plural Beraber, has now been quite adopted into the Arabic and Berber languages, with various grammatical forms.—Lerchundi, *Vocabulario Español-Arabigo del Dialecto de Morruecos*, 1892, p. 139.

It will be noticed that Leo never uses the word *Kabaïle*, now so universally applied in Algeria and Tunis to the Berber tribes, and even to those of Arab origin. "Kabyles" are, indeed, regarded as equivalent to the mountain races. But the word is Arab, though it came in with the conquest of Barbarossa and the rule of the Turks, so that in all likelihood the Arab traveller never heard it employed in the present sense. In Turkish a tribe is Silsilet, in Arabic K'bil, or plural, Kabaïl, and came to be applied to the tribes from hearing the Arab using it in saying that such a K'bil is so and so. We even see in telegrams of French origin the Morocco tribes called Kabyles, though not a word of Turkish is spoken in that empire. The Franco-Turkish "Pacha" is universally used by the Europeans under the form of "Bashaw", to designate the governor of a Moroccan province, though the word is quite unknown to the people themselves, *Kaid*, with various modifying terms, being the title of all government officials. During the Melilla troubles in 1894 the Turkish title of "Bey" was even applied to the Moroccan official stationed on the mainland, which proved how little either Madrid or Paris knew about the ethnology of Mulai el Hassan's empire. Moor (*Maure, Moro*) is another word strange to both Arabs and Berbers. It seems derived from the old Mauri, and, therefore, is applicable to the Berbers alone.

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But it is popularly considered the national name of the races inhabiting Morocco—the Negroes and Jews excepted. In reality the "Country of the Moors" is quite as much in the other Barbary States. It has, however, no precise meaning, though as the Berbers and wandering Arabs are tolerably clearly defined, and not much mixed, the term might be reserved for the mongrel races inhabiting the towns, many of whom have European blood in their veins. In Spain "Moro" became and continued to be almost synonymous with a Mussulman. At the period that Pory wrote—and sometime before and afterwards —by "Moors" was meant almost any Mohammedan people, not negroes: in Africa especially it was used in the loosest possible manner. The "Koulouglis", or offspring of Turkish fathers and Arab, Berber, or slave mothers, were peculiar to Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, though in the former country they have now ceased to be distinct from the other races, most of the Turks having left on the French capture of Algiers and the other cities in which they were numerous.—Duvivien, *Recherches et Notes sur la portion de l'Algérie au sud Guelma, etc.*, pp. 57-58; Carette, *Explor. de l'Algérie*, vol. iii, pp. 13-18; Castiglione, *Mémoire géographique et numismatique sur la partie orientale de la Barbarie appelée Afrikia par les Arabes, suivie de Recherches sur les Berbères Atlantiques, anciens habitans de ces contrées*, pp. 83-97; Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, pp. 84-105, and *Nouv. Annales de Voyages*, t. xxvii, p. 83; Fournel, *Les Berbers*, p. 32; Ibn Khaldun, *Historie de l'Afrique sous les Aghlabites et de la Sicilie sous la dominion Musulman*, trad. par N. Desvergers, and *Histoire des Berbers* (Slane tran.). Ibn Khaldun repeats the Arab story, which Leo follows with variations, about Berber being a corruption of the Arabic word *berberat*, unintelligibly applied to their language by Afrikis, "son of Kis, son of Safi", the Yemen King, who conquered Africa, and gave his name to such parts of it as were then known (note 1, p. 19). Tissot (*La Province Romaine d'Afrique*, vol. i, pp. 393-97) is not inclined to accept the current etymology of Berber, which really originated with Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii, p. 226). He notes that Pliny mentions among the natives of *Africa propria* the "Sabarts", whom Ptolemy calls Σαβουρβουρες, while, according to Herodotus, the same name Βαρβαροι was applied by the Egyptians to a race living on the Nile Valley. Even yet the name Brabra (pl. of Berber) is given to the Senaâri Nouba and Kenous. In ancient times the Somali country was known as Barbaria, and in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea another Barbaria is the country of the Troglodytes, and so on, though not improbably these names were given for exactly the same reason that the Greeks and Romans called all races outside their citizenship Barbarians, and their country Barbaria. It may also be noted that there is still a Beni-Barbara tribe in southern Tripoli, and the

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Beni-Barbar in the Aures (Vivien St. Martin, *Le Nord de L'Afrique, etc.*, pp. 208-209). But all such etymologies are mere guesses, and only worthy of recalling in so far that they may possibly give a clue to the origin of the widespread Berber race.

Hippolytus (*Lib. Général.*, vol. ii, p. 101 ; *Chronicon Paschale*, Ed. Bonn, *fide* Barth), it may be noticed, enumerates among African tribes "Afri qui et Barbares", and in the *Itin. Antonini*, p. 2, the Macenites Barbari are mentioned. Barth would fain have connected the Warwaren, a tribe of the Azkar Imghad, a negroised and degraded race in a condition of serfdom to the ruling race of the Imoshagh, with the Latin Barbari. But "war", a syllable with which a great many Berber names begin, seems to signify "man".

(12) From these remarks of Leo, it would seem that previous to the sixteenth century theories on the origin of the Berbers (or Africans) had been quite as numerous as since that date. The one which he adopts from Edrisi and also from Ibn Khaldun, is that still in favour with learned Arabs. But, unfortunately, it is, if not worse than its rivals, decidedly no better. Jews are undoubtedly amongst the oldest of the foreign colonists of North Africa. Ancient tombstones buried under the sands are said to exist in Sus, and the late Rabbi Mordakkai Ali Serour, of Akka, believed that he had found in the Daggaturs, a barbarous tribe of the Sahara between Morocco and Timbuktu, an ancient Jewish colony (*Bull. de Soc. Géog.*, Paris, 1877, pp. 345-370, and *Bull. Alliance Israelite*, 1882 ; and Duveyrier, *Bull. de Soc. Géog.*, 1876, p. 129). To this day they are found living among Arab and Berber tribes, though not speaking any language except that of their neighbours, and in the Atlas there is more than one tribe which are affirmed to have been originally Jews. The all-pervading Phœnicians, also, had settlements on the Barbary coast, and it is quite possible that the story in Procopius (*De Bello Vandalico*, Lib. ii, p. 222, Edit. 1531) that at Tangier there used to be a pillar on which was an inscription stating that the people who erected it had fled from the wrath of "the robber Joshua, son of Nun", was correct. (See also Lee's edition of *Ibn Batuta*, p. 18.) But all of these people were at most mere colonists, and influenced the population of the country very little. The Berbers are unquestionably of a much older date, and must have originated in a very different way from what Leo and other theorists have imagined. Dr. Slane considers that the similarity of the Berber language to the Semitic type was marked in its triliteral roots, the inflexion of the verb, the formation of derived verbs, the gender of the second and third persons, the pronominal affixes, the aoristic style of tense, the whole and broken plurals, and the construction of the phrase, whereas it differs from it in the dative of the third personal pronoun and in the mobilisation of the pronominal affixes. But in spite of the many

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Arabic words introduced into modern Berber (in some dialects almost a third), an interchange reciprocated, as in Tangier, where the basis of the population is Berber, and the tongue is now—either radically or by adoption of words from their neighbours—marked by Hamitic, and has no links which unite it to the Semitic tongues, the belief of certain philologists to the contrary notwithstanding. (Renan, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1er Sept., 1873.) But though it differs from the Coptic or Hausa in conjugation, declension, and vocabulary, it is considered by Keane to be distantly related to the old Egyptian and the Bega Somal, Galla, and other Ethiopian languages of North-Eastern Africa. The Berber tongue, with various more or less distinct dialectic differences, is spoken from the Siwah oasis to the Atlantic, including most of the Sahara; and on the Temple of Karnak, dating from Rameses II (*circa* 1400 B.C.), the word "Beraberata" occurs in an inscription. Yet this and other facts do not justify the inference that the Berbers spread from the Nile valley to Morocco; it is just as reasonable to conclude that the course of their migration was in an opposite direction. There is, indeed, a great deal to be said in favour of the belief that the Berbers were the stock who inhabited the British Isles, France, and Spain prior to the Celtic invasion, and whose slow retreat into and through Northern Africa may be traced by the rude stone monuments, of the Stonehenge type, found in all these countries, and which they were building after the Roman invasion of Africa, tombs of that character being found in Algeria, built on Roman roads. The Caucasian cast of face thought to be generally characteristic of the Berber is, perhaps, more imaginary than true, and had better not be made the basis of any hypothesis regarding their origin. Nor do I think much ought to be founded on the occasional fair-haired and light or grey-eyed families found among these people. The many European races, including the Vandals under Genseric, and the endless European slaves who, turning renegade, became absorbed into the population, must have left their mark over all the Barbary States. The flow of European blood is markedly noticeable in Fez and other cities of Morocco, and also among the town population of Algeria and Tunis; and red-haired and short-faced Berbers and Arabs are not infrequently seen in the interior of these countries, pointing to reversion, through the law of atavism, to, it may be, a distant northern ancestor, or possibly to a Hibernian renegade of less remote date. Yet, leaving out of account these familiar facts, the Egyptian monuments of the 14th and 15th centuries B.C. depict the Libyans (Berbers) as pink complexioned, blue eyed, and fair or red haired, so that in this case the "white" Berbers referred to may be only survivals of the original stock now reduced to duskiness by the infusion of Arab or Sudanic blood, conclusions, for many reasons, not untenable. Among the Kelowi, for instance, the chief must not

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marry a woman of Targi (Tuareg) blood, but can rear children only from black women or female slaves. In Asben, again, if a man marries a woman from a distance, he must go and live in her village; and in some tribes the custom still prevails of the sister's son inheriting instead of the reputed son of his father. (Barth, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 341.)

The absence of any traces of foreign tongues among the Berbers must not be accepted as a proof of their not being mixed with the *débris* of the Greek, Roman, and Vandalic colonies, since we know the rapidity with which a language can be lost. The writer is acquainted with the children of French and other renegades who do not know one word of their father's mother-speech; and considering that before the arrival of the Mohammedans the Berbers had received a veneer of Christianity without anything except a very doubtful trace now remaining, the loss of an even more evanescent culture need not excite wonder. Yet, to a certain extent, traces of the civilization with which they came in contact remain. As Sir Lambert Playfair remarks:—"The religious persecution of the Arians and Donatists, which so effectually opened the way for Islamism, no doubt drove many of the poorer members of these colonies for safety to the mountains, where they soon became mixed up with the aboriginal inhabitants. There can still be traced among their customs the traditions of Roman law and municipal institutions, and one frequently meets amongst them types, easily recognisable, of the Latin and Germanic races. Some have supposed that the crosses which Kabyle girls are in the habit of tatooing on their faces are remnants of the Christian faith. Many of their families had, no doubt, European ancestors, dating from long after the extinction of the Romans. Their own traditions assert this fact, and the beauty of the women of Aït Ouaguennoun, which is proverbial in the country, is regarded as a proof of their foreign origin. The Arab element amongst them was introduced later, less by actual conquest than by the moral influence of Islam, and the institution of slavery has had the effect here, as in all Mohammedan countries, of introducing black blood into the mixture."—Playfair, *Algeria and Tunis*, p. 7; Tissot et Broca, *Sur les monuments mégalithiques et les populations blondes du Maroc* (*Revue d' Anthropologie*, No. 3, 1876). M. Rinn will even go so far as to make the Berber language and alphabet parent to the Greek and Latin (*Les Origines Berbères, etc.*, 1889). If, however, the origin of the Berbers is still a moot question, their spread over Africa is even more speculative. They were very probably the colonists of the Canaries, though it is more difficult to accept Dr. Brinton's belief that they were the founders of Etruria, and the parents of the mysterious Etruscans (*Proc. American Philos. Soc.*, February 10th, 1890). David Urquhart (*The Pillars of Hercules*, 1850), amid much material not

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altogether to the purpose, insists on the relationship of the Berbers to the Celts, and on the remnants of Christianity among the former. Now that the Iberian theory renders it admissible to recognise the Berbers as akin to, if not identical with, the races who preceded the Celts, his speculations deserve more attention than they originally received. Admitting the truth of the theory mentioned it could scarcely mean that Celtic words crept into the Berber language—or *vice versâ*—and it is curious to find a peculiar form of brooch used in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland, in use all over Northern Africa among the Berbers. The lingering traces of Christianity are more dubious. St. John's day, or Midsummer, is celebrated as "el ánserah", and the old style European calendar is still maintained among them with a sort of water clock, consisting of a basin with a hole in the bottom. The Virgin Mary is still revered in certain parts of Morocco, and it is said that the women in the agony of child-birth will cry "Oh Maria!" But how much of this is invention, and how much the eager desire of theorists to justify their preconceived notions, is not worth arguing.—Meakin, *Journ. Anth. Institute*, Aug., 1894.

(13) What Pory translates "tawnie Moores", with deliberate disregard of Leo's text, and Florianus "Subfusci", is, in the original, "Affricani bianchi" (white Africans), and "I Bianchi dell' Affrica" (the whites of Africa), that is, the Berbers, to distinguish them from the Negroes. The word "Moor", as used by Pory and by all the writers of his time, and, indeed, subsequently, in a very loose way, is almost equivalent to Mohammedan. Leo never calls the Arabs "Africans", they being immigrants from Arabia into Africa, though no doubt well known as individual settlers and traders long before they invaded Barbary in A.H. 27 (A.D. 647).

(14) Zanhagi (Senhadja, Sanhagia, Sanagia, in the original Italian); Musmudi (Musmuda, Masmuda) in the original; Zeneti (Zeneta in the original); Hacari (Aoara in the original), Havara (Haoura of other orthographers); Gumeri (Gumera in the original, Ghomara, Gumeral, the Rémera of other writers), probably intended for Komera (Leo always using *g* in the *k* sounding). For the range and migration of these tribes see Carette, *Exploration de l'Algérie*, vol. iii, pp. 48-313, *et passim;* Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, t. i, pp. 179-189. The Zanhagi still exist, much reduced from the day when they contended for thrones in the Hadjutes of the Mitidja. The name of the Zeneta was famous in Moorish Spain. The Haora are still found near Medeah, and the fame of the Gomera still lives in El Peñon de Velez de Gomera, the Spanish presidio in their country, which in the Middle Ages was called "Ghommera", a name then applied to the

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Morocco provinces of El Garb and Rif, extending from the River Muluïca to Tangier.—(Ibn Khaldun, *Hist. des Berbères*, vol. ii, p. 134; Fey, *Histoire d'Oran*, p. 8.) About A.H. 116, the Gomera founded a petty dynasty in Ceuta, which, according to El Bekri, held power for three generations. The tribe—a fraction of the Musmudi—now exists in small septs near Oran, and in other places; the village of Rommera, on the Wad Rir near Teggort, another in the Jebil-bu-Kahil, and considerable numbers of their race in the Ziban Oases, mark their migrations. In the Middle Ages, however, they were essentially Moroccan, and though they did not take a leading part in the commotions which put Berber chiefs on so many thrones, they seem to have been attracted to the "Ghomerra coast" by its vicinity to Spain.

(15) "The riuer of Seruan" ("fiume de Servi"). Here Leo translates into Italian the Arabic name of the Wad-el-Ahd, or River of Servants, a tributary or branch of the Wad Oum-er-bia, which falls into the Atlantic at Azamur. Pory, more acute than some of his successors, divined this meaning by his side-note, "Guadalhabis". Florianus, however, put it "ad flumen usque Serui", and Temporal, "au fleuve de Serui."

(16) Haha, Sus, Guzula (near Sidi Honein ben Hashem territory).

(17) This is an extremely mistaken rendering of "la riviera della Rif", riviera being here used in the sense of a sea-coast, as in the familiar "Riviera" bordering the Gulf of Genoa. Here it means the well-known Rif or Riff country. There is no river of that name, though Florianus, who led Pory astray, has "fluvium occupat qui ille Rifa appellatur", and, next sentence, "hic fluvius". Even Temporal, a much more careful translator, blunders into "la riuiere qui s'appelle Rif". Tremizen (Telensin) is the Algerian town and province of Tlemçen. *Mauritania Cesariensis* was Western Algeria, North Morocco, *Mauritania Tingitana* that is of Tingis or Tangier.

(18) Temseena.

(19) Miknasas.—Carette, *Expl. de l'Algérie*, vol. iii, p. 156.

(20) The Lemtuna (Luntuna) were originally from the Sahara, near the Upper Niger.

Magraoa is Maghrua (Maghroua, Magraoua).—Carette, *Expl. de l'Algérie*, vol. iii, pp. 160 *et seq.*; Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique*, vol. i, pp. 186, 217, 381, etc.

(21) Merakeh (City of Morocco) was begun in A.D. 1072 by Yusef-ben-Tachfin, founder of the Berber dynasty of the Almoravides, whose

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sway was so brilliant. "El-Morabetin" is the more correct form of the word, Almoravides being a corruption of El-Morabetin, pl. of Morabet ("Marabout"), a pious person.

(22) This "principal Mahumetan preacher", who fabricated a genealogy which made him a descendant of Fatima and Ali, was a Berber Mohamed-ben-Abd-Allah, though generally known under the name of Ali ebn-Yussuff, Mohammed ebn-Tumert el Mahdi, "the leader" who, as has happened again and again, was to reform the faith at the close of a period fixed to suit this particular Mahdi's convenience. He called his disciples El-Mahaedu, corrupted into Almohades, that is to say, believers in one God, or Unitarians. The "Hargi" who first joined him, were the Hergha, who, like the Hentata, Timmal, etc., were of the Masmuda stock or tribe. He was a founder of the Almohade dynasty, which reigned from A.D. 1148 to 1269, so that Leo is quite correct in his statement regarding its duration.—Abdo'l-wahed-al Marrekeshi, *History of the Almohades*, edited by R. Dozy, 2nd ed., 1881.

(23) This was Abdul-el-Munen-ben-Ali-el-Kumi-ben Wariagol whom the Mahdi met at Mellala, a small town belonging to the Beni Wariagol, a Sandhaja (Zanhaji or Sanhaji, written both ways in this paragraph) tribe allied to the Musmudi.

(24) The Beni-Merin dynasty reigned from 1269 (A.H. 668) to 1550 (A.H. 957), or rather longer than Leo allows—Mohammed-ebn-Ahmed el-Kazeri being the last of the line.

(25) "Banizeyan, the King of Telensin"—("Banizeyan re di Telensin")—must either have been a misreading of Leo's manuscript, or a loose way of applying the name of a dynasty to the occupant of a throne. For the Beni-Zeiyan were a family who reigned long in the Tlemçen. There had always been a deep-seated hatred between the two families. But it did not break out into hostilities until the reign of Abu-Saïd-Othman, son and successor of Abu-Yahia Yaghrmoraçen, when, in revenge for the latter refusing to surrender his rebellious son (Ibn-Otton), Abu Yakub-Yussuf, the Merinide Sultan, raided the Tlemçen territory up to the very walls of the capital. This was in A.D. 1290 (A.H. 689).

A subsequent siege of eight years' duration was raised in 1308, in consequence of the murder of the Sultan of Fez. A third one began in 1335, and ended by the city falling into Merinide hands in 1337. In 1348-9 it was again lost, and for ages continued the centre of an oft-occupied battle-field between the Kings of Fez and those of Tlemçen. The Beni-Zeiyan dynasty was founded in A.D. 1283 (A.H. 637) by Yaghrmoraçen-ben-Zeiyan, the Emir of the Berber

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tribe of Abd-el-Wahed (or, less accurately Ouad): hence the Empire, which he extended until it was bounded by the Mediterranean on the north, the Mizab on the south-east, Figuig on the south-west, and the Sahara on the south, its neighbours being the Hafside Empire of Tunis, and the Merinide Empire of Fez and Morocco, is sometimes called that of the Abd-el-Wahedits. It lasted until 1554 (A.H. 962). The Sheikh Sidi Abu-Abd' Allah Mohammed Ibn Abd' el Djelil al Tenessy, *Histoire des Bene-Zeiyan de Tlemçen*, trad. de Arabe par l'Abbé J. J. T. Bargé, 1852; *Complément de Histoire des Bene-Zeiyan*, 1887; *Tlemçen, ancienne capital du royaume de ce nom*, 1859, Presse et Canal. "Tlemçen" (*Extrait de l'Afrique française*), 1889, etc.

"Likewise the progeny of Hafasa and of Musmuda are at variance with the King of Tunis," the original "guerregiarono ancora con Afaza i re di Tunis, i quali venero dalla origine di Antata stirpe di Musmoda"; that is, they engaged in warfare against the Hafsides, Kings of Tunis, who were sprung from the Hantata of the Musmuda tribe. The Beni Hafs, or Hafsite dynasty, was founded by a lieutenant of the Almohade Emir, the Sheikh Abu Zakaria Yaha, son of Abu Mahomed Abu-el-Wahed-ben-Abu-Hafs, who in the year 1228 (A.H. 626), taking advantage of the decay of the Almohade power, declared himself independent, and founded an empire which lasted until the Spanish Conquest in 1535; Abu Zakaria belonged to the Musmuda tribe, which also (we have seen) claimed the founder of the first Almohade Sultan as a member. The wars to which Leo alludes were in 1347, when the Merinide Abdul Hasan, taking advantage of the civil broils among the Arab Kings, attacked Spain, and remained master of Tunis after Abu Hafs, who had pursued him, was slain near Cadiz, though in 1236 Abu Zakaria had captured Tlemçen, Tafilet (Segilmen), and Ceuta. Two years later the Moroccans were defeated near Kairwan (Kairouan).—Mohammed-Ben-Abi-el-Raïmi-el-Kaïrouân, *Histoire de l'Afrique*, trad. de l'Arabe par MM. Pellissier et Rémusat, pp. 164 *et seq.*; *Fragment d'une histoire de la dynastie des Beni-Hafes*, trad. par M. Cherbonneau.

(26) The "chronicles" referred to are those of Ibn Khaldun and Ibnu-r-Rakik (Ibna Rachu).

(27) Melle is still a very "mixed" empire.—Barth, *Travels*, vol. i, p. 341.

(28) Akól amazirgh. Yet Berber is the prevalent language of Morocco—Arabic only of its creed and government. One of the Almohade Sultans dismissed the officials of the great Karuin Mosque in Fez, because they could not speak Berber as well as

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Arabic. As a rule, the Berber women speak less Arabic than the men, and among the Tuaregs more of them, it is said, read than men (Meakin, *Journ. Anth. Institute*, Aug., 1894).

(29) Songhay or Sonhrai. (30) Valata. (31) Timbuktu.

(32) Gogo, or Gagho, or Gao, capital of the Songhay Empire.

(33) Gober. (34) Kano.

(35) Katsena. (36) Zegzeg. (37) Wangara.

(38) Nubia. Leo's ideas of the relative positions of some of the kingdoms of the Niger region were rather vague, when he derives his knowledge second-hand; and his philology equally leaves something to be desired. For instance, the name Hausa seems to have been unknown in his days, or, at least, not within his knowledge. Else, instead of saying that the peoples of Zegzeg, Katsena, and Kano spoke the language of Gober, he would have noticed that they spoke the Hausa tongue, now so widely understood all over the regions in question, owing to the wandering habits and mercantile instincts of that intelligent race; though it is by no means to be inferred from Leo not employing so familiar a name that it was employed to designate the countries in which it prevails, or applied to the language itself subsequent to his day. Leo is also as much in error in saying that the inhabitants of Wangara (Guangara) spoke Gober (Hausa), as when he affirms that the Melli people spoke Songhay.—Barth, *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 69.

(39) Some of the blunders in this and other succeeding paragraphs have already been pointed out in the Introduction. They are many and grievous, partly Leo's and partly those of Florianus, copied by Pory. "Califa Otman" (Hutman) is Othman the third Khalif. "Fower hundred yeeres of the Hegeira" should be 27 (A.D. 647). "Hucha Hilnu Nafisch" (Ueba Jebnu Nafic) is Sidi Okkba ben Nazic (Nazic, Nafa, or Nafaz), a vassal of the Khalifate of Cordova, and the "great citie" which he founded (A.H. 50, A.D. 670) was not Alcair (Cairo), but, as Leo very properly put it, Kairwan (Caravanserai or resting-place); the blunder of altering the name to Alcairan being that of Florianus in which Pory follows him, though with a note of interpretation. "The people of Tunis", is in the original "riviera di Tunis" (the coast of Tunis), which is more likely, considering that Kairwan is in Tunis, at about the distance from Carthage mentioned. "Romans or" is an addition; Leo mentions "Italiani" alone. Leo is also wrong in supposing that the Arabic and Berber are in any way akin to each other, or that the Arabic got so



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corrupted, and *vice versâ*, that in time they became the same, or rather a compound language. They are still quite distinct, though with many words in common. Nor is there any ground for believing that the Berbers at large ever picked up the language of their European rulers.

(40) For correction of these dates and names, *cf.* Introduction. The "schematicall Califa" was 'Abd al-Melik, the Omayyad Khalif of Damascus. The "noble" was Kocéïla, a Berber who, after reigning for four years (683-688), was defeated and slain by Zoheïr, and Kairwan recovered.

(41) Abul-Kanen, who took the name of El Kaïn-bi-Amr-Allah—the Executor of the Commands of God—is Leo's Elcain. The troubles referred to originated with the capture of Kairwan and the siege of El Mehdia by Abu Yezid. He was succeeded as third Fatimite Khalif by his son Abu-Tahar-Ismaïl, surnamed El Mansur-bi-Amer-Allah (the Victory by the order of God), from his success in Sicily, in Thiaset, and over Abu Yezid. His son, Maad Abu-Tumin, who took the title of El Moëzz-li-din-Allah (the Exalter of the Religion of God), succeeded in A.D. 953. It was by his order that Abul-Hosein-Goher-el-Kaïd, a native of Greece, who had been a slave of El Mansur, equipped a large expedition, through the Maghiel, during which he advanced to the gates of Fez in one direction and to Sus in another, everywhere recovering the provinces which had been filched from the Khalif. He even conquered the Riffias. As El Kaim died on the 1st May, 946, and Egypt was not invaded until twenty-three years later, all of Leo's subsequent narratives about El Kaim and Gonha must refer to El Moëzz. There is, indeed, no reason for believing that El Kaim ever was in Egypt.—D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale* (1697); Morgan, *History of Algiers*, pp. 173-74, where the facts are taken from Herbelot.

(42) Abu-Bekr the first rightly directed Khalif—"El Abbas".

(43) Gowher conquered Egypt in A.D. 969 (A.H. 358), and after driving Abul Fowaris, the deputed Akshid ruler, from Fostat, the old capital, laid the foundation of Misr-el-Kahîreh (the modern Cairo, Alchair of Pory), originally called El-Mansoor-i-yeh, but afterwards re-named from the planet Mars (Kaher) being in the ascendant on the night that the foundation was laid. The Khalif of Bagdad in 969 was Al Mufadhl al Moti (944-974), also known as Ibn Bouyeh (which Leo corrupts into El uir=El vir) the founder of the House of Bouyeh, who renounced the temporal power of the Khalifs. At Gowher's solicitation, El Moëzz removed his court from Damascus to Cairo in A.H. 365.

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Goher founded the great mosque of El Ahazar, which, as a seat of Moslem learning, soon became a rival to the "University of Fez", and eventually was a centre to which students flocked from all parts of the Mohammedan world, until its ruin.—Quatremère, *Vie de Moezz*.

(44) Gabes.

(45) Yussuf ibn Tachfin, the Almoravide, began to reign in A.D. 1061 (A.H. 453). He took Tunis in 1100, and died in 1106 (A.H. 500) at the reputed age of one hundred.

(46) Abu-Yussef Yakub-el-Mansur, son of Abd-el-Mumen, A.D. 1163-1184 (A.H. 558-580). He was an Almohade, but the third, not the fourth King of that dynasty. "Muachedin"=El Moahedoun, or Mowahadi, as the word is still pronounced in Morocco. The money called "Maravedi" derives its name from this famous Berber line of sovereigns.

(48) The Hapites.

(49) "Iquali sono detti Arabi barberi", who are called "Barbary Arabs".

(50) Arab historians are not in accord regarding the tribes which entered Africa from Arabia about the year 1048. According to Kaïrouâni, they were the Beni-Riah, the Beni-Zegba, and a part of the Beni-Amer and the Senan. If we are to credit the chroniclers, the Beni-Zegba were after some time driven from Africa by the Beni-Riah and replaced by the Beni-Kara. Marmol simply expands the account which he found in Leo. The Cachin he calls Esquequin, the Hitell the Beni-Helala, and the Machill the Mahquil, and both historians derive their information from Ibnu-r-Rakik (Ebn-er-Rak'ik).

The Cachin seem to have been divided in Leo's day into *Ouled Hadadj* (Etheg of Pory, Etegi of Leo, who invariably omits the aspirates), scattered through Tunis and the Moroccan provinces of Dukkala and Teda, *Sumeït* (Sumait) inhabiting parts of eastern Libya, on the borders of the Tripolitan deserts, and the *Saïd* (Sahed), roaming over Tunis, between the city of that name and Kairwan, and in numbers on to the Desert of Barca. The Elledji, or Delleg (*Ouled-el-Hadj*), Elmurtesig (*Ouled Mutafik* or Halotes), and *Sobair*, which Leo makes out to be fractions of the Etegi, Marmol classes as separate tribes, but the *Amran-Litali*, *Amran-Distani*, *Ako-Zuberta*, *Bu-Arez*, and *Farach*, he puts into the former position.

The *Garbia-Yeecha* and *Ohled-Chiadma* inhabiting the same provinces



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as the Etegi, are noted by Marmol but not by Leo. The Hilel, Ilel, or Beni-Helal, Leo divides into Benihemir (*Beni-Amer*) Benien of the Italian original), and numerous races between Tlemçen and Oran Riah (Ric, Rieh), Sufien, and Chusain Cusain (*Djochen*).

The Beni-Amer he sub-divides into Hursan (Uroa, *Ouled Hurua*, on the borders of Mostagamen), Hueben (Ucba, *Ouled Okba*), Habrum (Abru, *Ouled Habra*) and Mussem (*Muslem*, in the deserts of Msîla, considered by Carette to be the *Beni-Msellen*, established in the upper part of the plain of Hodna).

The Riah Leo divides into the Deuvad (*Daouaouida*), Suaid (*S'aid*), Afgeg, (Asge, *Azgueh*), Elcherith (Elcherit, *Ouled-el-Krid*, *El-Akhdar*, or *Khadr*), Enedri (*Enedr*, *Ouled-Nader*, or Fader), and Garfam (Garfa, *Ouled-Garfa*).

The Machel (Mahquil, Makel) he divides into three tribes--the Mastar, the Hutmen (Utmen, *Ouled Othanna*), and Hassan (Assan, *Ouled Hassan*). The Mastar are further sub-divided into Ruchen (Ruche, *Ouled Ruke*, in the deserts of Dader and Ferkala) and Selim (*Ouled Selim*, near Vad Draa). The Othanna are split up into El Hasi (Elesin, *Hoceine*) and Chinan (Chenana, *D'jaouana*); while the Ouled Hassan were in 1500 divisible into Deuihessen (Deviessen, *Duï Hassane*), Deuimansor (Devimansor, *Duï-Mansur*), and Deuihubai-dulla (Deviu-bei-dulla, *Duï-Obeïd-Allah*). The Duï-Hassane were sub-divisible into Dulein (*Ouled Delein*), Berbus (*Ouled Berbesh*) Vodein (Vodei, *Oudaïa*, in the desert between Wadan and Walata), Racmen (Racme, *Rehamna*, or perhaps *Rokaïtate*), Hamran (Amir, *Ouled Amer*); the Duï-Mansur into Hemrun (Emrun, *Amran*), Menebbe (*Menebali*), Husein (Useïn, *Hoceine*), and Albuhosein (Abulhusein, *Ouled-bu-l'-Hoceine*). Finally, the Duï-Obeïd-Allah were split into four fractions—the Garag (Garagi, *Kharadj*), Hedeg (Edegi, *Hedadj*), Teleb (*Thâaleba*), and Geoan (*D'jaouana*). Different historians differ widely as to the number of tribes, their classification, and their relative rank, and the difficulty of making out Leo's meaning is not rendered any easier by his entire lack of system in translating Arabic words into Italian, and by the carelessness of Pory and other translators or copyists in gratuitously altering these into names which have only a resemblance to the original, and are the designation of no races or places in Africa or elsewhere. However, all the tribes named by Leo are perfectly well known, and most of them still exist in greater or less numbers scattered throughout Northern Africa. Thus the Ouled-l'Akub noticed by Marmol corresponds to the Ouled-'L'akab-ez-Zraa, a tribe of the Wad-Mzab. The Ouled-Ta'alba (Mahquil) are still, as in the sixteenth century, scattered from the desert of Numidia to Jekdemt; indeed, a tribe called Ta'alba exists in Wanseris, another in Kabylia, and a tribe as a fraction of the Beni-Bel-Hacen, who live with the Beni-Dja'ad. In Morocco, the Ouled-Deleïm, the Ouled

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Berbesh, and the Oudaia (Mahquil) are still, as four centuries ago, established in the dry country between Senegal and the Atlantic. The great race of the Beni-Helala, or Helala, who furnished so large a contingent to the population of Algeria, have left their name in the Ouled-Helal of the Tell, and in a glen, called Helala, near the source of the Wad-Souflat (Carette). The endless revolutions and civil broils of Barbary have, in the course of four centuries, made such changes in the distribution and status of the tribes that Leo's classification is valuable only as expressing the views held in his day, or by the Arabic authors whom he followed. Even then he admitted it not only difficult "ma impossibile recordarsi", all the tribes then existing, and which have ever since been splitting up, or leaving off, or reuniting, trying to massacre and exterminate each other, or having the same unkindly intention carried into effect for them by the successive masters of Barbary—Arab, Turk, and "Christian". "Leo, from Ib'n al Rakik, the African chronologist" (writes Morgan Cancelliere to the British Consulate in Algiers), "gives an ample account of these Arabs. He says they were ten Tribes or Families from Arabia Deserta, and half the inhabitants of that Region: with many from Arabia Felix, tho' to all he gives three general names: But the sub-divisions he makes 600, many of which he mentions by Names still in being, and some I have never heard of: tho' that is no Argument of their Non-existence: And, I believe, that had he swelled the Number of petty Divisions, including the Moors, or natural Africans, to 6,000, he would not much have overshot himself; they being almost enumerable."—*A Complete History of Algiers*, p. 175.

"Aït," it may be noticed, is the ordinary Berber prefix for a tribe, though some have adopted the Arabic Ben. "Ida" and "Doui" (the latter thought by Renon to be originally *Adoui*) are possibly derivatives of that word, though, as in the above list, the latter is commonly employed by Leo and Marmol in the nomenclature of Arab tribes of Devi-Massur, Devi Huberdalla, etc., and to this day is found in Algeria (the Doui-Mnîa, the Doui-Iahia). "Oulad" is a tribe, and "Hel" (*e.g.*, Hel-'Ang-ad) may be an abbreviation of it. Renon, "Description géographique de l'Empire du Maroc" (*Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie*, vol. viii, p. 46); Marmol, *L'Afrique* (d' Ablancourt's trans.), vol. i, pp. 75-86; Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, vol. ii, pp. 8-14; Carette, *Exploration scient. de l'Algérie*, vol. iii, pp. 433-441; Accardo, *Répertoire alphabétique des tribus* et *Douars de l'Algérie dressé d'après les documents officiels* (1879), *passim*.

(51) In Morocco.

(52) Agadez.

(53) Algiers, Ed. Djezair.

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(54) Sallerc and Mekines (Mequinez), or that part of Morocco comprising the old kingdom of Fez.

(55) Mostaganem in Algeria. The Ouled Hurua is the tribe noticed (n. 50).

(56) Ucba, Ouled-Okkba.

(57) Miliana in Algeria ; Meliana in the original.

(58) Abru, same as Habrum in the preceding paragraph.

(59) Msila. The desert (*deserto*) not deserts (*deserta*, Florianus), mean here simply lands uninhabited by settled races. Msila town was, according to El Bekri, founded by Abu-l-Kasem-Ismaïl-ben-Obeïd-Allah, the Fatimite, A.H. 313 (A.D. 925-26), who traced out the walls of the city with the point of his lance as he galloped on horseback. In A.D. 1088, Msila was destroyed, and its inhabitants transported to Kalaa. Again rebuilt, the walls were once more levelled, sixty years later, by the Zanata, and, after being a second time reconstructed, Msila suffered a sack at the hands of the Hafsite Abu Yahea.

(60) Azaphe is Saffi ; Heah, Ha'ah. Hemran is the Ouled-Amran of Sedgelmessa, which is the modern Tafilet.

The great tribe of the Hilal-Ben-Amer and Solein belonged to the Morler family of Arabia, established in the middle of the eleventh century in the Desert of Hedjaz, close to the province of Nedj, when they were let loose on Barbary by the Khalif El-Mustansir lillah Abu-Timin-Ma'add, in order to revenge himself on his representative in that region who had proclaimed the authority of the Abassides in Kairwan. The worst wars of this section of Northern Africa began. The Nile crossed, they rushed on the province of Barca like famished wolves on a flock of sheep, and while some of the invaders abandoned themselves to internecine quarrels, the Riah, under their chief, Munes-ben-Yahia, marched to robbery, murder, and outrage. "They seemed", wrote Ibn-Khaldun, less than 300 years after their arrival, "like a cloud of locusts, and destroyed everything in their path", thus fully confirming the character which Leo gave them in 1501. It is doubtful, however, if they were quite so numerous as Leo and Marmol make them out to be.

(61) Jebil-Dades and Farkala, an oasis just beyond, on the desert side of the Atlas.

(62) Ouled-Selim. Dara, Darha, the Wad-Dra. They still traffic to Timbuktu.

(63) "Elasim", Ouled-el-Haçen (note 50).

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(64) "Chinana", Ouled-Kenana, Elcaluth (Elcabut), Holotes (note 50).

(65) Ouadan (Wadan), Oulata (Walata). "The Duke of Gualata" is in the original "signore de Gualata in *Terra negra*", the last two words (in *Negroland*) being omitted by Pory.

(66) Hacha. Acca, Akkaba, an oasis of Sus, on the caravan route to Timbuktu.

(67) "Hamrun" is not the Ouled-Anran, for Leo has "Amer" as the Ouled-Amer, who are inhabitants of the "deserto de Taganot" and have relations with the community of Tagavost (Tagaost), this remark being transferred by the translator to Tesset.

(68) Dehemrum (Deemrun) is apparently another form of Amran (p. 212, note 50), a tribe which roamed to the south of Tafilet (Sedjelmassa, or Segelmesse), and on to the Desert of Iguidi (Ighid), intersected by the caravan route from Akka to Timbuktu.

Todgatan is Todga in the original (Todra ?), an oasis north-west of Tafilet (or Tafililt).

Tebelbet is another oasis south of the Tafilet Sibka, with, like all these oases, villages and date palms. Dara is Dra.

(69) Matgara is the district called Medrara by El-'Archi el Mula-Ahmed, the Berber traveller, who passed through this region in the year 1661 (A.H. 1073) on his way to Mecca. He also mentions the Ouled 'Abd-Allah ben-'Amar. The Wad-er-Retib is also among his notes (*Expl. Scientifique de l'Algérie*, p. 8). *Vide* also Book VI.

Garseluin is *Guers-'Aluin*, where, in Leo's day, the province of Sgedelmessa began in the Atlas. Eddara is *Ed Dra*, the desert through which the Dra runs when there is any water to fill its bed, and which was then the territory of the Abulhusein (Ouled-Abu-el-Houcein).

(70) Ouled-Garradji, in the Beni-Gumi and Figuig deserts.

(71) Ouled-Hadadji, in the Desert of Angad.

(72) That is, the Ouled-Taalba inhabited the Metidja and the Numidian Desert to Takdemt.

(73) Tedles.

(74) Gehoan = Ouled-Djohai dispersed among the Garadji and Hadadji tribes.

(75) Schachin, a variant of Cachin (note 50).

(76) Their favourite genealogy is, at best, not based on historical evidence, and is evidently derived from the mythical Hebrew legends

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or inventions. The division into *Arab* or pure, and *Mostareb* (Mus-Araba, Mustehgeme in Leo's Italian) or adscititious, is more substantial, as this classification is very ancient.

(77) This description of the Terga, Tawarek, or Tuareg applies quite accurately at the present day: dress, ways of life, food, manners, and morals, seem not to have altered much in four centuries. On this subject there are some judicious remarks in an anonymous review of Denham and Clapperton's *Travels and Discoveries*, "British Critic", 1826, pp. 510, 516; Duveyrier, *Les Touaregs du Nord*, pp. 317-318 (nomenclature); Bissuel, *Les Touaregs de l' Ouest*, pp. 35-36.

The practice of paying tribute or, as it is called in many parts of Africa, "hongo", still prevails. This "custom due" is known as *gherama*, which Leo corrupts into *gabella*. "Ma le carivane che passano per li deserti loro sono tenuti di pagare ai lor principi certa *gabella*."

"Mill and panicke"—miglio e di panico—are simply varieties of millet (*Panicum*). *P. miliaceum* is the common variety. *Paspalum exile* is generally cultivated in Africa, as is also Egyptian millet or Guinea corn (*Pennisetum typhoideum*). In Central Africa many of the Tuareg from Bornu to Timbuktu subsist on the seeds of "uzak" (*Pennisetum distichum*), out of which, also, they make a pleasant cooling drink. Its little burr-like seeds, by attaching themselves to every part of the dress, are a constant annoyance to travellers. The so-called "India millet" or durra (*Sorghum vulgare*) is, perhaps, the chief African corn plant.

The woolly-looking material about the spathes of palm leaves is still used to make clothing, not only in Africa, but in various other parts of the world.

Parts of this description have, however, been freely translated. Thus Temporal (twice) puts sheep into the bill of fare of the "good prince" (who is, however, in the original only "buono uomo"; he is at best "il signor")—"grandi quantate de chameaux jeunes et vieux avec autant *de Moutons* et quelques autruches". But Leo says nothing about mutton, and Pory's "camels of all kindes" is more precisely indicated: "molti cammeli, e giovani e vechi, e insieme *alt rettanti castrati*, e certi struzzi." Again, in serving up the roast ostriches, no mention is made of the "sundrie kindes of herbes and spices" being from Negro land ("della Terranegra"), an omission also in Florianus, though not in Temporal. The Dutch translation is so frequently abridged and free that I have purposely not collated it. "His nobilitie" is, in the original, "nobili e parenti"—nobility and relatives. Ostriches are now much scarcer in the Sahara, though their feathers still come with the caravans to Tripoli.

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(78) In reality, the migration commenced before the time of Islam, when Wargla or Tuat were occupied, and the black races originally inhabiting those Saharan oases driven south. Leo, it seems, considered that this forcible exile of the Tuaregs to the desert began soon after the great exodus of Arabs into Africa, at the instigation of Ahmed ben 'Ali-el-Jerjerano, who died in 1044-5 (A.H. 436), and not a few years later under the Vizier, El Yezuri (note 60, Barth, *Travels*, vol. iii, p. 226).

(79) The country women in Morocco, and other parts of Barbary, do not always veil themselves specially before Christians, holding that Infidels are not worthy of being treated with such decency. In the interior towns, however, they will turn their faces to the wall, and possibly—if any of the faithful are within earshot—suggest to the unbelieving Nazarene that the fire is lighted for him. If no one is looking, and the lady is young, she may likely enough be more complacent.

(80) With henna juice (*Lawsonia inermis*).

"A French crown"—"uno scudo"—a ducat.

"Hen's dung and safron"—"fumo di galla e di zafferano"—really smoke of plants and saffron. Pory's very free mis-reading being due to Florianus, "Confisciunt tamen aliquando e galle fumo atque croco", etc.

The mention of the women going to war with their husbands is interesting. For the Zemmur people, near Rabat, in Morocco, and other tribes, still do so, the women loading their lords' muskets, and exhibiting a ferocious courage quite equal to that of the men.

(81) The character which Leo gives the people of this coast still applies almost literally. In some recent consular correspondence it was shown that the slave trade is on occasions secretly carried on, and they are in no respect to be trusted. Indeed, Leo shows a better knowledge of the character of its wild kindred than many Europeans, who have again and again perished by putting too much confidence in the romantic legend about the stranger being safe in an Arab's tent if once he has broken the Bedouin bread.

(82) "Urbs," which is again referred to in Bk. v, is, perhaps, the ancient Orba, Obba, or Abba, the position to which Leo assigns it being marked by a quantity of ruins, belonging, possibly, also to Larilus; Mannert, *Géographique ancienne des Etats Barbaresques* (Ed. Marcus et Duesberg, 1842), pp. 394, 687, 688. Edrisi (t. i, pp. 259-268), in his remarks on Arbes, seems to confirm the conjecture. See also *El Bekri*, p. 130; Ibn Haukal, "Description de l'Afrique (*Journal Asiatique*, 1842, p. 223), and Guèrin, *Voyage Archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, t. ii, pp. 86-87).

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(83) These Soara, Soava, and Zouara, are identical with people whom Marmol calls Azuagues, who in his time existed in considerable numbers in the Tamesna and Fez provinces (Morocco), and in Tunis and Belad-el-Jered, and at present inhabit the Zouara country not far from Tunis—the town of Zouara, north of Tunis, indicating the limits of their range in that direction. They were known from the fifth century before the Christian Era, as the Ζαυηκες of Herodotus, but have undergone many migrations since that period. The incident described by Leo took place in 1500, so that he might have been personally acquainted with what, as a naturalised Moroccan Arab, he seems to take a pride in. The people of Belad-el-Tered, having revolted against the King of Tunis, marched towards Constantine, at that time under the Hafsites, and gained such an advantage over the Governor of Malai, Nazir, son of the Emir Mohammed, that he had to fall back on the city with 2,000 horsemen. This victory gave the tribesmen great *éclat*, and determined many others to make common cause with them. The insurgents pursued their march into the mountains of Kabylea, where, in the Jurgura range, they established a principality called "Cuco" by Marmol. This appears to have been a Zouara confederation, of which the memory still exists in the town of Kouko. Towards the close of the sixteenth century offshoots of them occupied Jebel-Zarhun, near Fez, and other parts of Barbary.—Carette, *Explor. scient. de l'Algérie*, vol. iii, pp. 278-315.

(84) If by this juxtaposition of Arianism and St. Augustine Leo would wish it to be inferred that the Bishop of Hippo favoured that heresy, it is almost unnecessary to say that he is wrong. Nor is it quite correct to say that Augustine was an "African Christian" in any heterodox sense. For, though a native of Tagaste, he was a convert of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and a violent opponent of the Donatists and Pelagians. The rest of Leo's remarks about Christianity in Africa may be accepted as merely his own speculations mixed with admitted historical data.

(85) The Berber alphabet, now scarcely known among the Morocco tribes, seems, in spite of the theories which derive it from Roman or Greek, or *vice versâ*, to be of prehistoric origin—though this was not suspected until 1822, when Dr. Oudney discovered its existence in the Tuareg country. Specimens of this "tafinagh" writing are to be seen on various rocks in the Sahara and Barbary. "Tafinagh" is a Punic word, "finagh" being, indeed, equivalent to "Phœnician". The letters, variously named at pp. 32-35, closely resemble old Semitic forms, and, apart from the name applied to the language, there is almost a certainty of Phœnician origin. Perhaps a careful search of the ancient female ornaments in Morocco might reveal traces of the old character; for though the Berbers speak various dialects, their language from

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Tangier to the limits of the Tuareg range is fundamentally the same as it was when St. Augustine wrote (*De Civitate*, xvi, p. 6):—"In Barbary we know many people with one tongue." About the only volume of any importance in Berber is the "Tuwahid" (The Unity of God), written by the Almah-Sultan, Mohammed ebn Tumert, who is the author of the "Murshidah" also, to convince his Berber followers of the truth of his mission as the Mahdi. The Musmudi tribe being unable to speak Arabic, the Sultan counted the words in the first chapter of the Koran, and, calling as many men, seated them in a row, and named each one with a word. Then, each pronouncing his name in order, they repeated the chapter.—Meakin, *Journ. Anth. Institute*, Aug. 1894; Halevy, *Etudes Berbères (Première Partie); Essai d'Epigraphie Libyque*, 1875; Rinn, *Les Origines Berbères*, 1889; Hodgson, *Notes on Northern Africa, the Sahara, and Soudan*, 1844, pp. 12-44, though Mr. Hodgson is wrong, as other writers more excusably have been, in describing the "Tuarycks" as "a white people".—Jones, *Dissertatio de Lingua Shilhense*, 1715; Ukert, *Bemerkungen über die Berbern und Tiblus*, 1826; the *Berber Dictionaries* of Venture, Delaporte, and Newman; Hanoteau, *La Kabylie*, 1872-73, etc., etc. The Tuwahid is still occasionally met with; but a treatise still older, the Koran given to the Gumera tribes of Tetuan and the neighbouring coast by Abu Mohammed Hemym ben Ali-khalef Menhat, in 937 (A.H. 325), is mentioned by El Bekri, and is analyzed by Ebn Abd-el-Hhalim in his "Kartas". Another MS. described by these two historians is the book given to the Barguahah Berbers by Saleh-ben-Tarif, their chief, in A.H. 177 (A.D. 783), which is supposed to have been wholly or partly written in their language. Leo is also wrong in supposing that the Romans—or Italians as Pory translates "Romani"—began to subdue Africa when "the Gothes" invaded Italy.

(86) This graphic description of a winter adventure in the Atlas might, so far as geographical details are concerned, have happened a few months, instead of four centuries, ago. Every winter the Atlas is deep in snow, and its spurs in the Riff are also white. At long intervals the Tangerines wake up to see a thin covering of the same very un-African snow in their town, though it is, we believe, erroneous to say that five years ago snow fell as far south as Mazagan. In reality it was hail. But less than a century after Leo's adventure, Mulai Achmed and his army had a narrow escape from being buried among the snows in the mountains between Sus and Dra, and caravans have since that date been smothered in the drifts. In the case of both Pory and Florianus the translation is faulty. Thus, wherever "cartes" are mentioned, "caravan" should be understood. What Leo calls "cacio" (cheese), is really more like curd. It sours in a few

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hours, but, notwithstanding, is kept and eaten when old. Like the rancid butter, buried in great jars, it requires a long apprenticeship to the custom of Morocco before it is much to European tastes.

(87) Cairo.

(88) There are many caves in the Atlas and other mountains of Morocco, some natural, others artificial. Several of the latter are excavated in the tufa deposit near Tasimet. Mr. Thomson could not find in his cursory examination anything to show that they had been used as human habitations, but inclines to the belief that they were places for concealing grain, or for the Pagan Berbers to bury their dead in. There are others, even more enigmatical, at the eastern end of the valley of Teluet, near the village of Tabugumt. Like the Tasimet ones, they are divided into separate cells, and in front of each cell is a trap-door giving entrance to a species of cellar. The Tabugumt Jews still use them as granaries, but from the smoke on the walls and roof, and the general arrangement of the caves, the probability is that they have at some time been utilised as dwelling-places, just as some are in Algeria. Close to Aïn Tazil, in the foot of the hills of the Atlas, not very far from Amsmez, there are some of a very similar description, the doorways faced with masonry, and in some cases the cells are placed in tiers, so that the troglodytic inhabitants must have entered by descending with ropes into what are more like pits than caves. There are hundreds of these excavations, and many more in different parts of the country, such as on the way from Tetuan to Sheshuan in the Riff country, and again beyond Wazan. Hanno speaks of the swift-footed Troglodytes of the Atlas; but this is beside the point, as the Carthaginian mariner was never in the Atlas, and could only have seen the coast spurs where, however, there are plenty, *e.g.*, near Cape Spartel.—Thomson, *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco*, pp. 181-237; Harris, *The Land of an African Sultan*, pp. 243-245; Playfair and Brown, *Bibliography of Morocco* (Supp. Papers R.G.S., vol. iii, pp. 217-225). "Grandissimo lago, d'intorno al quale sono i popoli di Sin e di Gorran"; "Maximus lacus, cujus accolæ sunt Sinitæ at Gorranitæ" (Florianus). This passage seems an echo of some vague information grafted into a fragment of lore from Strabo and Ptolemy, picked up either in Rome, or among the Arabic translations of the Greek and Latin writers, of which there were many in the libraries of the Moorish Kings of Spain, and in those of Morocco, four hundred years ago. For there are certainly no lakes, large or small, on the route from Fez to Egypt, since the Chotts and Lebkas could scarcely be designated by that name, even did they lie on the caravan track. But the name

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"Gorran" supplies a clue, for Leo uses it as equivalent to Kordofan. Accordingly, as the Morocco traders have for ages been in the habit of making a round journey by travelling from Timbuktu to Kordofan by way of Vadai and Darfur, this must be the route Leo indicates, though he never passed over it. As he has already noticed, Chad, the Great Lake, could not be the one intended, and Fittri is much too small. Arabs, however, often confuse lakes and rivers under one designation (Bahr), so that it is scarcely worth laying too much stress on Leo's vague, second-hand information. It is equally necessary to give a wide margin as to distances and localities noted under such circumstances. Hence it is possible that in placing the "people of Sin" (Sinites) in close relation to the "Goranites", he was simply making one of those easy guesses which, until the last thirty or forty years, were quite the rule among geographers. Strabo (Bk. II) mentions the Σίνται, and Ptolemy (Bk. IV, ch. v) places the Σέντιτες, or Σέντιδες, in Cyrenaica, close to the Nasamones. Again (Bk. IV, chap. vii, p. 305, Wilberg's edit.), he notes among the tribes near Meröe "Isle" on the Nile, the Σκηνῆται. It is also allowable to suggest that Leo might have obtained either from Ptolemy ideas of the "Nili Paludes", or from the Arab traders of the actual lake sources of the great River of Egypt. It may be added that, even at the beginning of this century, the people whom Jackson consulted regarding the country between the Niger and the Nile spoke of "a lake" on the course of the latter, so broad that they could not see the opposite shore. A party of Jinni negroes who travelled it, joined at Cairo the great caravan of the Wel-Akkaba el Garbra, with which they found their way through Barca, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria, and Amgad to Fez, and Marekesh, when they again attached themselves to the Akka caravan, with which they reached Jinni after an absence of three years and two months.

(89) In 1805, a caravan proceeding from Timbuktu to Tafilet failed to find water at the usual wells, and the whole of the persons belonging to it, 2,000 in number, besides 1,800 camels, are said to have perished of thirst. All travellers by the caravan routes describe bones of men and animals as mingled together in various parts of the desert.—Jackson, *Morocco*, p. 285; Denham and Clapperton, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, vol. i, pp. 123, 125-8, 131, etc.

(90) This monument in the district of Azawad, if it ever existed, must have long ago been buried in the sand. Yet the story may be founded on fact. To this day traders declare that if by any accident the water skins give out, or much is lost by percolation, 10 or even 20 dollars are given for a drink, and there is a tale told of 500 dollars

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having been paid for enough of water to quench the thirst of a wealthy traveller.—(Jackson.)

(91) "Goron" is "Goro" of the original. Moore, who mistranslates the word as Coran, makes it out to be the point of the well-known Kola or Guru nut (*Sterculia acuminata*).—*Travels in the Inland Parts of Africa*, p. 36. The *Carica Papaya*, which bears splendid fruit, and is scattered over the Niger country, is called "gonda".

(92) This "Tesoro degli agricoltori traditto dalla lingua latina alt' arabica in Cordova" (not "when Manzor was Lord of Granada"), seems to have been the lost work on Agriculture by Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 B.C.), who Moore, or the translator who assisted him, with a direct inversion of fact, declares translated it into Arabic! The remains of Latin customs among the Berbers are noted by Leo. "Frumenty" or "Frumme'ty" (from the Latin *Frumentum*) a dish into which boiled wheat enters largely, is in some parts of England eaten on Christmas Eve. In Morocco precisely the same dish (*Kerrberr*) is eaten on or about the 1st of January, O.S., or the 12th of January, N.S., which is still reckoned New Year's Day by the Moors in their calculations of the Christian era. Although never used for ordinary reckoning, the European (Old Style) Calendar is employed to calculate certain periods of feasts—one of which is St. John's Day—more especially among the Berbers. The names of the month are apparently corruptions of those in the Latin group of languages.—*Times of Morocco* (Tangier), No. 168, January 26th, 1889.

(93) The mistranslation of this chapter has been commented on in the *Introduction*. In addition to the diseases mentioned, intermittent fever, ophthalmia and other maladies of the eyes, small-pox, typhus occasionally, cholera at intervals, elephantiasis, dropsy, and liver complaints are found among the Morocco people. Vaccination is said to have been known to them from a very early date, and those who practise it take the lymph direct from the cow: but until the English Sherifa of Vazan persuaded many of her husband's adherents to be vaccinated, the prophylactic was little carried out, or even heard of. Dysentery is common owing to the readiness with which the people will drink almost any water with no more filtering than through a piece of new turban, and the complete neglect of sanitary precautions. But dyspepsia and liver ailments, due to inordinate gluttony, is the most ordinary disease among the richer class of people, who eat heavily of fat highly-spiced dishes, and take no exercise. Paralysis is also sometimes seen: but lunacy is not frequent, and unless the victims are very dangerous they are permitted to go at large, a madman being regarded as specially under

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the countenance of Allah—a belief fully taken advantage of by a host of filthy, ragged, long-haired (often naked) knaves, who haunt the towns and markets, receiving alms from the charitable Gonta, rarer than in Leo's day. Drinking is at times secretly indulged in by the town natives, and much less commonly practised in the interior than a few centuries ago, when Canary wine was among the gifts made openly by Embassies to the Sultans. But, now-a-days, if a dissipated Moor tipples brandy reckless of the Koran—which casuists say prohibits wine only—he must compromise matters with his conscience by doing so secretly. Otherwise, the consequences are apt to be unpleasant if the peccadillo comes to the ears of the Governor, that is, unless he can dull that official's sense of duty with a bribe. The Jews, however, make a Marsala-like wine, and distil a spirit from dates and figs, which is occasionally smuggled into the harems; while the Riffians, and other Berber tribes, drink the wine of their grapes. The races of northern Morocco, in general, have excellent teeth. Lame people are not often seen, and it is affirmed that many of the blind men who act as muezzins or callers of prayers in the mosques, have had their eyes destroyed in childhood, a blind man being in request for an office the incumbent of which overlooks from his perch in the mosque-tower all the adjoining gardens, house-tops, and court-yards. Corns, bunions, and deformed toes are almost unknown, as the loose slippers worn permit their feet to grow naturally; though the sole is so hard that it has been known to be frizzled by the fire only when the smell of roasted horn was noticed. A sham renegade (Al Aluje), one of a class for whom they have a well-founded contempt, who affected great piety in the mosque, was speedily unmasked by the presence of callosities on his feet. Syphilis is not now called the "Spanish disease" (mal di Spagna), but "the great sickness" (maradd el Kebir), or "the woman's sickness" (maradd el nissuan), and has now so permeated the entire race north of the Atlas that there are very few families who do not show marks of the national malady. Hot sulphur baths, like those of Mulai Yakub, near Fez, are greatly in request as remedial agents, and to severe perspiration many cures have been attributed. Thus one Kaïd freed the negro soldiers of the "Maradd el Kebir" by making them carry heavy loads up the steep ascent from Fonti to Agader, and another—he was an Algerine—accomplished the same end by chaining the sick man to the rowing bench of his piratical galley, and plying the scourge freely. The plague has not appeared for many years, but leprosy is usually described as common. I have seen many of the cases accounted such. Lepers, according to Rohlfs—speaking, however, chiefly of Fez and the surrounding country more than thirty years ago—are not allowed to marry, except with lepers, or to enter towns or villages, or to practise any handicraft. The "Modjdun" live on alms, and some of them

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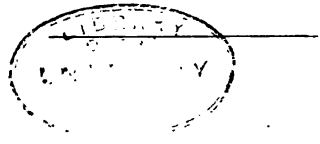
have prospered so well out of the offerings of the charitable thrown into the plate at the roadside by which they sit with their monotonous cry of "A leper! A leper!" (Modjdun! Modjdun!) that they possess cattle and cultivate farms. It is, however, very doubtful if the "djden" is really leprosy, and not a form of syphilis, which the hot climate of Morocco and the lack of proper treatment has made much worse than any variety of it known in Europe. Close to the Bab Dukala of Marakesh, the gate which leads to Mogador, is a village (El Hara) inhabited by people afflicted with the djden. It seems not to be spreading, and is not regarded as infectious. For, in spite of the statement of Rohlfs, who considered it leprosy—a view not held by most of the embassy physicians who have examined it—so considerable a number of healthy natives live in these villages that the rightful inhabitants are in a minority. Building also is going on, and so little fear have the people of the disease, that marriages occasionally take place between "lepers" and healthy persons without, Mr. Meakin was informed, the children inheriting the disease—a conclusion unlikely to be well based, no matter what theory is taken of its character. Yet the El Hara people are forbidden to enter the city, and, unless on special occasions, to be at the Gate, except in parties not exceeding two or three. Rohlfs, "Beitrage zur Geschichte der Medicin und medicinischen Geographie Marokkos" (*Quid novi ex Africâ*, pp. 194-212); Erckmann, *Le Maroc Moderne*, p. 295; Quedenfeldt, "Krankheiten, Volksmedicin und abergläublische Kuren in Marokko" (*Das Ausland*, vol. iv, pp. 75-9; v, pp. 95-98; viii, pp. 126-9) [Meakin]; *Times of Morocco*, No. 159 (Nov. 24th, 1888); Marcet, *Le Maroc, voyage d'une mission française à la Cour du Sultan*, pp. 193-4, etc.

(94) "Curatori di destri, quai cuschi e guatteri delle cucine e quai famigli di stalle."

(95) "My nursing"—*mia nudra* literally—which is in accordance with the writer's Spanish birth, and having "passed the greater part of his life" in Africa.

(96) "Amphibia" is not in Leo's text—simply a bird "d'un ingegno mirabile." The story, which dates from the time "when men took the form of animals, and animals spoke like men", is still told by the professional story-tellers in the market places of Morocco, whose tales constitute such a wealth of ungathered Arabic and Berber folk-lore.



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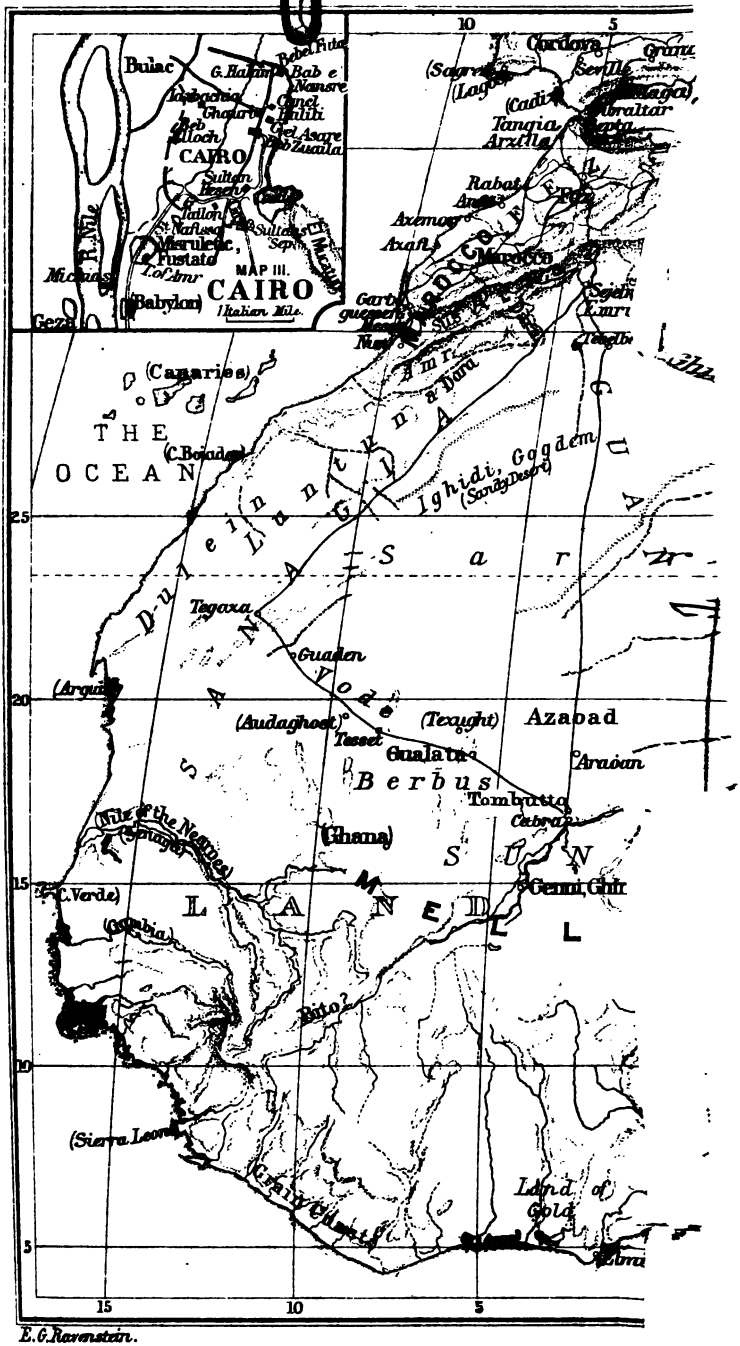


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